Non enim te spreverunt Solum, sed me spreverunt, ne Regnem super ipsos.
Per Ecclesiam pector.
Scotica
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A SHORT VIEVV, OF THE *LIFE and REIGN* OF King Charles, 1st Stuart (*The second* MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAIN)

From his *Birth* to his *Burial.*

Tacit. Hist. Lib. I.

Alii diutius imperium tenuerunt, Nemo tam fortiter reliquit.

LONDON,
Printed for *Richard Royston* at the *Angel* in Ivy-lane. 1658.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE Life and Reign of KING CHARLES

(*The ſecond* Monarch *of Great* BRITAIN) from his *Birth* to his *Burial.*

OUr Chronicles tell us of a Man in Queen *Elizabeth's* time that wrote the *Ten Commandments*, the *Creed*, the *Pater-noſter*, the *Queens Name*, and the *year of our Lord* within the compaſſe of a Peny; and gave the Queen a paire of Spectacles of ſuch an Artificiall making, that by

the help thereof ſhe did plainly and diſtinctly diſcern every Letter.

The contracting of the Life and Reign of King *Charles* in ſo narrow a compaſſe as I have limited to my ſelf, may ſeem to be a work of no leſſe difficulty. And yet I hope to do it in ſuch a plain and perſpicuous manner, that *every one who runs may read it* without the help of any ſuch Spectacles as our Chronicles ſpeak of. To *Brevity* I am injoyned, and it muſt be my buſineſſe to avoid all *Obſcurity*; though I am conſcious to my ſelf, that I ſhall draw this Picture with too much ſhadow. But I take the Pencil into my hand, and thus form my *lines*.

1600.

CHARLES, the third Son of *James* the ſixth King of the *Scots*, and of *Anne* his Wife, Daughter of *Frederick* the ſecond, and Siſter of *Chriſtiern* the fourth, Kings of *Denmark*, was born at *Dunfermeling* (one of the principall townes of *Fife*) in *Scotland*, on the nineteenth

teenth day of *November Anno* 1600. derived by a long deſcent of Royall Anceſtors from *Malcolm Conmor* King of the *Scots*, and the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, Siſter and ſole Heir of *Edgar Atheling*, the laſt ſurviving Prince of the Engliſh *Saxons*. So that his Title had been good to the Crown of *England*, though he had borrowed no part of his Claim from the *Norman* Conquerour.

Which I obſerve, the better to encounter the extravagant follies of ſome men in the book called *Antinormaniſme*, and ſome other Pamphlets of that time: in which it is affirmed that this King had no other Right to the Crown, then what he claimed from that Conqueſt; and therefore that the *Engliſh* Nation having got the better of him by the Sword, might lawfully free themſelves from that ſubjection, which by no other Title then the Sword of the *Normans* had been laid upon them.

At his firſt coming into the world he was ſo weak and unlike to live, that his

Chriſtening was diſpatcht in haſte, without attending the performance of thoſe ſolemnities which are accuſtomably uſed at the Baptiſme of ſuch Princely infants. And as the name of *Henry* was given to the Prince, his Elder Brother, with reference to *Henry* Lord *Darnlie*, the Father of King *James* by *Mary* Queen of *Scots*; ſo was this younger Son called *Charles*, in relation to *Charles* Duke of *Lenox*, the younger Brother of that *Henry*, and by conſequence Uncle to King *James*.

1602.

Having received ſome meaſure of ſtrength, he was at the Age of two years created Duke of *Albany*, Marqueſſe of *Ormond*, Earle of *Roſſe*, and Baron of *Ardmanock*; of which four Titles the two firſt and the laſt are wholly at the Kings diſpoſing, to be beſtowed on whom he pleaſeth. But the Earldom of *Roſſe* falling unto the Crown in the time of King *James* the third, was ſo ſetled in the Crown by Act of Parliament,

ment, that it is not lawfull for the King to ſell, alienate, or diſpoſe the ſame unto any other, then to the ſecond Son of *Scotland*.

1603.

On the 26. of *March* next following, *Anno* 1603. King *James* had news by Sir *Robert Cary*, one of the younger Sons of the Lord *Hunſdon* (who had ſtole a poſting journey thither) that Queen *Elizabeth* was dead, contrary to the opinion of many of his *Scottiſh* Courtiers; who being wearied with the tediouſneſſe of their expectation, did believe at laſt, that it ſhould never be acknowledged by the Lords of England that the Queen was dead, as long as there was any old woman of that Nation left, to weare good Clothes, and take the name of Queen upon her. For bringing which news the Duke of *Albany* (as if he were more concerned in it then all the reſt of the Kings Children, as indeed he was) was afterwards committed to the Governance of Sir *Roberts* Lady, and he

himself from that time forwards of principall esteem and place about him.

This news being seconded by that of the Proclaiming of King *James*, for her true and lawfull Successor in the Imperiall Crown of this Realm, the King prepared himself for *England*. At what time (as I have been told by some Persons of Quality) a certain Laird of the *Highlands*, though of very great Age, came to his Court, to take his leave of him, whom he found accompanied with all his Children, the young Duke being then held in his Nurses Armes.

His Addresse unto the King consisted of Prayers for his long life and Prosperity; and those Prayers intermixt with some desires, that in the midst of the Felicities and Glories of the English Court, he would not be unmindfull of his Native Countrey. Which having said, without taking any great notice of the Prince, he applyed himself wholly to the Duke, whose hands he kist with such an Ardency of Affection,

as

as if he meant they ſhould grow for ever to his lips. And when the King told him, that he had miſtook himſelf in his Addreſſes to the infant, as not being his eldeſt Son, and Prince of *Scotland*; he anſwered, that he knew well enough what he did, and that it was this Child in whom his Name and Memory was to be perpetuated to ſucceeding Ages, with other Speeches of like nature. Which being then either unregarded, or imputed unto age and dotage, were called to mind after the death of Prince *Henry*, and then believed to have ſomething in them of a Prophetical ſpirit.

1603.

But to proceed. On the fifth day of *April* in the year 1603. King *James* began his journey for *England*, and in the end of *May*, the Queen accompanied with Prince *Henry*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, ſet forwards alſo; finding at *Berwick* a Noble Train of Lords and Ladies ſent thither from the Court to attend her coming, and wait upon her in her journey.

The

1604.

The next yeare order was given for bringing the young Duke to the Court of *England*. But before ſuch as had the Charge of him could begin their journey, the young Duke was taken with a feaver. Which being ſignified to the King, he ſent thither Doctor *Atkins* one of his Phyſicians, who who in ſix weeks reſtored him to ſuch a degree of health as made him fit to be removed to a Warmer Aire, and a more comfortable Climate.

On the ſixteenth of *July* this Remove began, which brought him by ſhort and eaſie ſtages in the firſt week of *October*, to *Windſor* Caſtle, where the King then was, by whom he was committed to the Governance of the Lady *Cary*, as before is ſaid. And not long after, for his better welcome into *England*, he was on the ſixth day of *January* next following (commonly called *Twelfth-day*) inveſted ſolemnly with the Title of Duke of *York* by Cincture of

of a Sword, impoſition of a Cap and Coronet of Gold upon his Head, and by delivering unto him a Verge of Gold; himſelf with ten others of eminent Nobility, having been made Knights of the Bath (with all the accuſtomed Ceremonies) the day before.

1606.

In the ſixth year of his Age, he was taken from the charge of his Women (though not from the Motherly ſuper-inſpection of the Lady *Cary*) and committed to the Pedagogy of Maſter *Thomas Murray*, a *Scot* by Nation; ſufficiently qualified for that ſervice, but otherwiſe ill Principled in the Rites and Ceremonies by the *Church* of England differed from the *Kirke* of Scotland.

1610.

Under this Tutor the young Duke advanced exceedingly in the way of good Letters; the weakneſſe of his lower parts, which made him unapt for Exerciſes and feats of Activity, rendring

dring him more retired and ſtudious, and more intent upon his Book then he had been otherwiſe. Which Prince *Henry* taking notice of, as he, the young Duke, Dr. *Abbot* then newly made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with many of the Nobility, were waiting in the Privie-Chamber for the Kings coming out; the Prince (to put a jeſt upon him) took the Arch Biſhops Square-cap out of his hand, and put it on his Brothers head, telling him that if he continued a good boy, and followed his Book, he would make him one day Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. Which the child took in ſuch diſdain, that he threw the Cap upon the ground, and trampled it under his feet, not being without much difficulty and ſome force taken off from that eagerneſſe.

This, though at firſt it was not otherwiſe beheld then as an Act of Childiſh paſſion, yet when his Brother Prince *Henry* dyed, and that he was Heir apparent to the Crown, it was taken up by many zealous Church-men for ſome ill

ill Preface unto the Hierarchy of Bishops, the overthrow whereof by his Act and Power did seem to be foresignified by it. But in that their fears were groundlesse, and their conjectures no better grounded then their fears, there never being a more gracious Patron to the Church, nor a more resolute Champion in behalf of the Hierarchy then he proved to be. What is prefaged (if there were any prefaging in it) in reference to the Archbishops Person, may be shewn hereafter.

1611, 1612.

In the eleventh year of his Age, he was made Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and on the sixth day of *November*, *Anno* 1612 he lost his Brother Prince *Henry*, whom he immediately succeeded in the Dukedome of *Cornwal*, with all the Royalties, Rents, Profits, and Commodities of it; according to the entail which was made thereof by King *Edward* the third, when he conferred it upon *Edward* the black Prince, his eldest son. The

The first solemn Act which he appeared in after this change of his condition, was at the Funerall of Prince *Henry* on the 7. of *Decem.* following, at which he attended as chief Mourner. And on the 14. of *February* then next ensuing, being Sunday, and S. *Valentines* day, he performed the Office of a Brideman (a Paranymph the Grecians call him) to the Princesse *Elizabeth* his Sister, married upon that day to *Frederick* the fifth, Prince Elector *Palatine*: A marriage which drew him afterwards into many cares and great expences, of which more hereafter.

In his Childhood he was noted to be very wilful, somewhat inclining to a perverseness of disposition, which might proceed from that retiredness, which the imperfection of his Speech, not fitting him for publick discourse, and the weakness of his limbs and joynts (as unfit for Action) made him most delight in.

But now being grown both in years and state, he began to shake off that retiredness, and betake himself to all man-

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manner of manlike exerciſes ; ſuch as were Vaulting, riding great Horſes, running at the ring, ſhooting in croſſe-bowes, Muskets, and ſometimes in great Pieces of Ordnance, in which he became ſo perfect, that he was thought to be the beſt Marks-man, and the moſt comely manager of a great Horſe of any one in all three Kingdoms. And as he ſhaked off this retiredneſſe, ſo he corrected in himſelf the Peccancy of that humour which had grown up with it ; there being no man to be found of an evener temper, more pliant to good Counſel, or leſſe wedded then he was to his own opinion.

1616.

On the third of *November*, *Anno* 1616. He was at *White-Hall* (with all the accuſtomed Solemnities) created Prince of *Wales*, Earl of *Cheſter* and *Flint*, and put into the actuall poſſeſſion of all the Regalities, Profits, and Commodities belonging to them ; his Houſhold being then formed and conſtituted, and all the officers of State, which belong unto him, appointed to their ſeveral places.

And

And now it was expected that he should break out into more glory then he had done formerly, and take upon him as the Heir of so great an Empire. But considering very wisely that the forward and enterprizing nature of his brother P. *Henry*, the popularity which he affected, & the great resort of young Noble-men continually unto his Court had been displeasing to his Father; resolved to keep himself at a close ward and not to seem so great as he was, that when time served, he might appeare greater then he seemed to be. Old Princes do not love to have their eldest Sons too active, and to tread too close upon their heels; and therefore many times do interpose the power of a favorite to keep them at the greater distance. A policy much used by King *James* in the whole course of his Government, who for that cause in the life-time of Prince *Henry*. took Sir *Robert Carr* into his most especiall favour, whom he first made Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and on the twenty fifth of *March*

Anno

Anno 1611. Created Viſcount *Rocheſter*, and the ſame year made Knight of the Garter alſo, conferring on him all the power and truſt he was capable of; that by the greatneſſe of the one he might keep down the daring nature and confident Spirit of the other.

Prince *Charles* underſtood this well enough, and carried himſelf with ſo much prudence, that he diſputed not the Power of his Fathers favourites, ſuffering all honours, Offices, and other matters at the Court to be carried by them as beſt pleaſed the King Which though it was generally aſcribed unto Puſillanimity, and the defect of ſpirit in him, yet was it lookt upon as an Act of the greateſt wiſdome by more knowing men. For had he any wayes croſt the deſigns and Councels either of *Carr* then Earl of *Somerſet*, or of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Fathers favourites (who at that time did much out-ſhine him) he had not only incurred the Kings diſpleaſure, but of neceſſity muſt have divided the Court, and by conſequence

the

the Kingdom alſo into ſeverall factions, each labouring to advance their own, though to the Ruine and Deſtruction of the publick Peace.

Onely to take off ſomewhat of the imputation, he made ſo much uſe of his power and intereſſe with the King, as to prefer three of his ſervants unto Titles of Honour, *Anno* 1621. *viz.* Sir *Robert Cary* Chamberlain of his Houſhold, to the Title of Lord *Cary* of *Lepington*; Sir *Thomas Howard*, ſecond Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Maſter of his Horſe, to the Honour of Viſcount *Andover*, and Lord *Howard* of *Charlton*; and Sir *John Vaughan* Controller of his Houſhold, to the Honour of Lord *Vaughan* of *Molingar* in the Realm of *Ireland*.

1618.

On the eighteenth day of *November Anno* 1618. There appeared a great blazing Star, the forerunner of many woful events in theſe parts of Chriſtendom. But the firſt ſad effect thereof which we found in *England*, was the death of Queen *Anne*, which hapned on *Tueſday* the

the ſecond of *March* next following. A loſſe which the Prince bare with great equanimity, or evenneſſe of Spirit; neither baniſhing all ſhews of grief with a *Stoical* Apathie, nor ſpending his time in too much womaniſh lamentation. At the Funerall of this great Queen, he was principall Mourner, and it became him ſo to be; ſhe having always been to him a tender and indulgent Mother, expreſſing more affection to him then to all the reſt of her Children.

1619.

Not long after the death of the Queen, King *James* fell very ſick at *Newmarket*, and having a deſire to come to *London*, advanced on his way as far as *Royſton*, where he was fain to ſtay till his ſickneſs was over; which at laſt became ſo dangerous, that his death was feared. At what time D. *Andrews* Biſhop of *Winchester* attending on him, bewailed with great Affliction the ſad condition which the Church was like to fall into if God ſhould take away his life, the *Prince* being in the hands of the *Scots*, which made

up

up the greateſt part of his Houſhold, and not well principled by thoſe which had the tutelage of him, either as to the Government or *Liturgie* of the Church of *England*. The King acknowledgeing this ſad truth, and condemning his own negligence in it, made a ſolemn vow, that if God would be pleaſed to reſtore him to his health, he would take the Prince into his own immediate care, inſtruct him in the controverſies of Religion, and ſet him on ſo right a bottome, that there ſhould be no fear of his diſaffection either unto the Hierarchy, or the rites and Ceremonies of the Church; which he did accordingly. And he did it ſo effectually, that at ſuch time as the Prince made his journey into *Spain*, and that ſome principal perſons in all the Places and Offices belonging to him, were to follow after, Dr. *Maw* and Dr. *Wren* two of his Chaplains being appointed for that ſervice, came to King *James* to know his pleaſure and commands. The King adviſed them not to put themſelves upon any unneceſſary

Diſpu-

Diſputations, but to be onely on the Defenſive part, if they ſhould be challenged. And when it was anſwered that there could be no reaſon to engage in ſuch Diſputations, where there could be no Moderator; the King replied, that *Charles* ſhould moderate between them and the oppoſite party. At which when one of them ſeemed to ſmile on the other, the King proceeded and told them, that *Charles* ſhould manage a point in Controverſie with the beſt ſtudied Divine of them all; and that he had trained up *George* ſo far as to hold the concluſion, though he had not yet made him able to prove the Premiſſes.

1619.

On Friday the twenty fourth of *March*, *Anno* 1619. The Prince with the Marqueſſe of *Hamilton*, Marqueſſe of *Buckingham*, diverſe Earles and others performed great Juſting at *White-Hall* in honour of the day, being the day of King *James* his happy coming to the Crown of *England*.

And

1620.

And on the Sunday after, being Midlent Sunday, he attended his Father to *S. Pauls Croſſe*, conducted in a moſt ſolemn manner from *Temple Bar* to that Church by the Lord *Major* and Aldermen, and at the entrance into the Church, received by the Dean and Chapter in their rich Copes, and other Eccleſiaſticall Habits, and by them conducted into the Quire; where having heard the Divine ſervice for that day moſt ſolemnly performed with *Organs*, *Cornets*, and *Sagbots*, they went to a prepared place where they heard the Sermon at the Croſſe preacht by Dr. *King*, then Lord Biſhop of *London*; and from thence unto the Biſhops Palace, where they were entertained with a Banquet. Infinite was the concourſe of People at both thoſe Solemnities, and all of them returned with great joy and comfort to ſee him ſo bravely accompliſht in the one, ſo devoutly reverent in the other.

On

1622.

On Tueſday the eighteenth of *February*, *Anno* 1622. Accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, M. *Endimion Porter*, and M. *Francis Cottington*; he took ſhip at *Dover*, arrived at *Bulloign* in *France*, and from thence rode Poſt to the Court of *Spain*.

The occaſion this; *Frederick* Prince Elector *Palatine* had inconſiderately taken on himſelf the Crown of *Bohemia*, *An.* 1619. and for ſo doing, was by the Emperor deprived of his Ancient Patrimony; the Electorall dignity together with the upper Palatinate being conferred on the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the lower on the K. of *Spain*, who poſſeſt himſelf of all of it except the towns of *Heidelberg*, *Frankendale*, and *Manheim*, well manned and Garriſoned by the *Engliſh*. For the preſerving of which places, and the recovery of the whole, when all means elſe had proved ineffectuall, it was held moſt expedient to negotiate a Marriage betwixt

Prince *Charles* and the Daughter of *Spain*. Which being firſt managed by the Leiger Embaſſadors in both Courts, was afterwards proſecuted with more particular inſtructions by *John* Lord *Digby* (well verſt and ſtudied in that Court) whom the King ſent as his Embaſſador extraordinary to conclude the match. But *Digby* being fed with delaies from one time to another, it was reſolved by King *James*, without making any of his Councel acquainted with it, that the Prince himſelf ſhould go in Perſon, that he might either ſpeed the Buſineſſe, or break off the Treaty.

According to this Reſolution he began his journey, no otherwiſe accompanied or attended then with thoſe three perſons above-mentioned, all of them paſſing in diſguiſe, to avoid diſcovery. Being come to *Paris*, they adventured to ſee the Court, where at a *Mask*, he had a view of that moſt excellent Princeſſe whom he after married. But no ſooner had he left the Ci-

ty,

ty, then the *French* King had Advertiſement of his being there, who thereupon diſpatcht away ſeverall Poſts to ſtay him in his journey, and bring him back; but the Prince had paſt beyond *Bayonne*, the laſt Town in *France*, without being overtaken by them, and poſting ſpeedily to *Madrid*, entred the Lord Embaſſadors Lodging, without being known to any but his Confidents onely.

News of his ſafe Arrivall there being brought to the King, there was a preſent order taken for the ſending of his Servants of all ſorts, to attend upon him in that Court, that ſo he might appear amongſt them in the greater Luſtre. But this leſſened not the Cares and Feares of the *Engliſh* Subjects, who could not be more glad to hear of his ſafety, then they were afraid of the danger which he had incurred. For having put himſelf into the power of the King of *Spain*, it was at the Courteſie of that King whether he ſhould ever return or no: it being a Maxime

amongſt Princes, That if any one without leave ſets foot on the Ground of another, he makes himſelf his Priſoner.

Philip the firſt of *Spain* and Duke of *Burgundy*, being caſt by Tempeſt on the Coaſt of *England*, was here detained by King *Henry* the ſeventh, till he had delivered up the Earle of *Suffolk*, who had fled for Refuge to his Court: and *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, being forced by her Rebellious Subjects to fly into this Realm, was preſently ſeized on as a Priſoner, and ſo continued till her lamentable and calamitous death. So in like manner *Richard* the firſt of *England*, paſſing in diſguiſe through ſome part of the dominions of the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, was by him took Priſoner, and put unto an heavy Ranſome; and not long ſince *Charles Lodowick* the now Prince Elector *Palatine* poſting through *France*, in hope to get the Command of Duke *Bernards* Army, was ſtayed in the middle of his journey by the Kings command, and kept

ſo

ſo long under Reſtraint, that he loſt the opportunity of effecting his purpoſe.

This, though it was the generall Fear and apprehenſion of the *Engliſh* Subjects, yet no body durſt acquaint the King with it, but *Archee* the *fool*, who going boldly to the King, as he found him once in a good humour, told him that he was come to change Caps with him. Why, ſaid the King? Marry, ſaies *Archee*, becauſe thou haſt ſent the Prince into *Spain*, from whence he is never like to returne. But ſaid the King, what wilt thou ſay when thou ſeeſt him come back again? Marry, ſaies *Archee*, I will then take off the fools Cap which I put upon thy head, for ſending him thither, and put it on the King of *Spains*, for letting him return. At which words, it is reported, that the King became exceeding penſive, never before ſo much apprehending the Danger of that Adventure, as then and afterwards he did.

1623.

But the generous *Spaniard* intended to make no ſuch Market of him, but gave him all the Royall entertainment which a Princely Suitor might expect. Nor was the Prince wanting for his part in all fit Compliances by which he might both gain on them, and preſerve himſelf. For by his Courtly Garb he won ſo much on the Affections of the *Infanta*, and by his grave and circumſpect behaviour got ſo much ground upon the King and his Councel, that the match went forward in good earneſt. The Articles of the Marriage with all the Circumſtances thereof were agreed upon, and ſolemnly ſworn to by both Kings. Nor was the Pope wanting in the grant of a diſpenſation (without which nothing could be done) writing a Letter to the Prince, who returned to him a Civil anſwer, which afterwards was reckoned amongſt his Crimes, by ſuch as rather would not then did not know the neceſſity which lay

lay upon him, of keeping at that time a plauſible Correſpondence with the Catholick party.

But as for his Religion, the change whereof was moved by the Pope, and much hoped for by the Court of *Spain* at his firſt coming thither, he ſhewed ſo many ſtrong evidences of his conſtancy in it, that thoſe hopes ſoon vaniſhed. And that it might appear, that he profeſſed no other Religion, then what was agreeable to the Rules of Antiquity, and not much abhorrent from the formes then uſed in the Church of *Rome*, the *Engliſh* Liturgie was by the care of the Lord Keeper *Williams* tranſlated into the *Spaniſh* Tongue; and ſo many Copies of the Book then printed ſent into *Spain*, as gave great ſatisfaction in that point to the Court and Clergy.

And this I muſt needs ſay was very ſeaſonably done, the *Spaniards* being till then perſwaded by their *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, that when the *Engliſh* had caſt off the *Pope*, they had caſt off alſo all Re-

ligion, and became meer *Atheiſts*; the name of God being never uſed amongſt them, but with a purpoſe to expoſe it unto ſcorn and prophanation. Inſomuch that the "Conſtable of *Caſtile*, "being ſent to ſwear the Peace concluded with *Spain*, when he underſtood "the buſineſſe was to be performed in "the *Chappel*, where ſome *Anthems* were "to be ſung, deſired *that whatſoever* "*was ſung, Gods name might not be uſed* "*in it, and that being forborn, he was* "*content they ſhould ſing what they liſted.* King *James* himſelf ſo relates the ſtory in Arch-Biſhop *Spotswood*, *fol.* 530.

But the Prince had another game to play, namely, the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*; which the *Spaniard* would not ſuffer to be brought under the Treaty, reſerving it (as they pretended to be beſtowed by the *Infanta* after the Marriage the better to ingratiate her ſelf with the *Engliſh* Nation. Which being a point of too great moment to depend upon no other aſſurance then a Court-

Court-Complement, he concluded with himſelf that ſince he could not prevaile in the one, he would not proceed unto the Conſummation of the other. And hereupon he was much edged on by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who having conceived ſome deep diſpleaſure againſt the *Conde de Olivarez*, the ſpeciall Favourite of that King, deſired rather that all Treaties ſhould be broken off, then that any Alliance ſhould be made in which that *Conde* had appeared ſo inſtrumentall.

But it did concern the Prince ſo to provide for his own ſafety, that no intimation might be made of the intended Rupture, till he had unwinded himſelf out of that *Labyrinth* into which he was caſt. For which cauſe having deſired of his Father that ſome ſhips might be ſent to bring him home, he ſhewed himſelf a more paſſionate lover then ever formerly, and made a *Proxie* to the Catholick King and Don *Charles* his Brother, in his name to eſpouſe the Lady *Infanta*; which *Proxie* he left

with *Digby*, not long before made Earl of *Briſtol*, by him to be delivered within ſome few daies after the coming of the expected diſpenſation.

But no ſooner had he took his leave, and was out of danger, but he diſpatcht a Poſt unto him, commanding him not to deliver up the *Proxie* untill further order. And having ſo done, he hois'd Sails, and came for *England*, arriving at *Portſmouth* on Sunday the fifth of *October*, *Anno* 1623. From whence by Poſt-Horſes he paſt to *London*, the next morning, and ſo by Coach to the King at *Royſton*, to the great content of all the Kingdome, declared by Bells, Bonfires, and all other the accuſtomed expreſſions of a publick joy.

The King being made acquainted with all particulars, and that no Aſſurance could be had of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, by the advice of his Privy Councel, diſpatcht a command to the Earl of *Briſtol*, not to deliver up the Proxie unleſſe the buſineſſe of the *Palatinate* were concluded alſo. The expectation

pectation whereof not being anſwered by Succeſſe, a Parliament is ſummon'd, to begin on the ſixteenth day of *February* then next following, to the end that all things might be governed in this great Affair by the publick Counſel of the Kingdom. Not long after the beginning whereof, the Duke declared before both Houſes (more to the diſadvantage of the *Spaniard* then there was juſt ground for) how unhandſomely they had dealt with the Prince, when he was in *Spain*; how they had fed him with delaies; what indignities they had put upon him, and finally had ſent him back not onely without the *Palatinate*, but without a Wife; leaving it to their prudent Conſideration what courſe to follow.

It was thereupon voted by both Houſes, that his Majeſty ſhould be deſired to break off all Treaties with the King of *Spain*, and to engage himſelf in a war againſt him for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, not otherwiſe to be obtained. And that they might come the better

better to the end they aimed at, they addreſſe themſelves unto the Prince, whom they aſſured, that they would ſtand to him in that War to the very laſt expence of their lives and fortunes; and he accordingly being further ſet on by the Duke, became their inſtrument to perſwade his Father to hearken to the Common Votes and deſires of his Subjects, which the King, preſt by their continuall importunities, did at the laſt aſſent to.

But in the conduct of this Buſineſſe, the Prince conſulted more the Dukes paſſion, and the pleaſing of the Commons in Parliament, then either his own or the Regall intereſſe. For there is nothing more unſafe for a King of *England*, then to caſt himſelf upon the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, and depending on the purſe of the Subject. By means whereof, he makes himſelf obnoxious to the Humour of any prevailing Member in the Houſe of Commons, and becomes leſſe in Reputation both at home and abroad. The Commons, ſince

ſince the time of King *James*, have ſeldome parted with a peny, but they have paid themſelves well for it out of the Prerogative.

And this appeared by their proceedings in this very Parliament: For though they had ingaged the King in a War with *Spain*, and granted him three *Subſidies*, and three *Fifteens* toward the beginning of that War; yet would they not ſuffer that grant to paſſe into an Act of Parliament, till the King had yielded to another againſt *Concealments*. Inſomuch as it was affirmed by Juſtice *Doddrige*, at the next Publick Aſſizes held in *Oxford*, that the King by paſſing of that Act, had bought thoſe *Subſidies* and *Fifteens* at ten years purchaſe. Nor dealt they otherwiſe with this Prince then they did with his Father, thoſe very Commons who had ingaged him in the Warre, and bound themſelves to make good that ingagement with their lives and fortunes, moſt ſhamefully deſerting him in the firſt Parliament of his Reign,

Reign, and after working more and more upon his neceſsities, till they had robbed him of the richeſt Jewels in the Regal Diadem.

1624.

But to proceed, the Treaty with *Spain* being like to come to a Rupture, it was judged neceſſary to counterballance the Power of that King by negotiating a Match with the Princeſſe *Henrietta Maria*, the youngeſt Daughter of *France*; firſt ſet on foot by the Mediation of the Earl of *Holland*, who found that Court inclinable thereunto, and afterwards concluded at the coming over of the Earl of *Carlile*, joyned in Commiſsion to that purpoſe. It was reported, that when ſhe was told that the Prince of *Wales* had been at the Court, and was gone for *Spain*; ſhe Anſwered, that *if he went to* Spain *for a Wife, he might have had one nearer hand, and ſaved himſelf a great part of the trouble.* And I have read, that receiving at one time two Letters from

England,

England, the one from King *James*, and the other from the Prince, ſhe put that from King *James* into her Cabinet, and that from Prince *Charles* into her Boſom. Of which King *James* being told, he was exceedingly pleaſed with it, ſaying, that he took it for a very good Omen, that ſhe ſhould preſerve his Name in her Memory, and lodge *Charles* in her Heart.

1625.

During theſe preparations for War and Marriage, King *James* departed this life at *Theobalds* on Sunday the twenty ſeventh of *March*, *Anno* 1625. Immediately upon whoſe death Prince *Charles*, was proclaimed at the Court-Gates to be King of great *Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, *&c.* The like done preſently after at *London*, and by degrees in all the other Cities and Towns of the Kingdome, with infinite rejoycings and Acclamations of the People.

The Funeralls of the deceaſed King were celebrated on the ſeventh of *May*, his

his body being brought from *Somerſet-Houſe* with great Magnificence to Saint *Peters* Church in *Weſtminſter* (where he was interred) the King himſelf being principall Mourner. Which though it were contrary to the Cuſtome of his Predeceſſors, yet he choſe rather to expreſſe his Piety in attending the dead body of his Father to the Funerall Pile, then to ſtand upon any ſuch old Niceties and points of State.

The Funerall being paſt, he thought it was time for him to quicken the coming over of his deareſt Conſort, to whom he had been married on the Sunday before at the Church of *Noſtre-Dame* in *Paris*; the Duke of *Chevereux* a Prince of the Houſe of *Guiſe* (from which Houſe King *Charles* derived himſelf by the Lady *Mary* of *Lorain* Wife to *James* the fifth) eſpouſing the Princeſſe in his Name.

On *Trinity Sunday*, late at night, ſhe was brought by a Royall Fleet of Ships from *Bulloign* to *Dover*, which being ſignified to the King who was then

then at *Canterbury*, he went to her betimes the next morning, and received her with great expreſſions of Affection, profeſſing that he would be no longer Maſter of himſelf, then whileſt he was a Servant to her. The ſame day he brought her to *Canterbury*, where he gave himſelf up to thoſe Embraces, to which from that time he confined himſelf with ſuch a Conjugal Chaſtity, that on the day before his death he commanded his Daughter the Princeſſe *Eliſabeth* to tell her Mother, *that his thoughts had never ſtraied from her, and that his love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt.*

On the Thurſday after being the ſixteenth of *June*, they came from *Graveſend* to *White-Hall* in their Royal Barges, attended with an infinite number of Lords, Ladies, and other people who could get Boats to wait upon them; the Ordnance from the Ships which were then preparing for the Wars, thoſe from the Merchants Ships, and the *Tower* of *London*, thundering her Welcome as ſhe paſt.

But

But in the heat of theſe Solemnities and entertainments, the King forgat not the main Concernments of himſelf and the Kingdome, and to that end began his firſt Parliament on Saturday the eighteenth of *June*, which fell out not unſeaſonably, that the *French* Lords might ſee with what Royall Magnificence he was attended by the Peers, Prelates, and other Officers of State, (beſides his own Domeſtick Servants) to the Parliament-Houſe.

At their firſt meeting, he put them in mind of the War in which they had ingaged his Father, and of the promiſe they had made to ſtand to him in it with their lives and fortunes; that both his Land and Sea-Forces were now in readineſſe to ſet forwards, and that there wanted nothing but a preſent ſupply of money to quicken and expedite the Affair. In Anſwer whereunto, the Commons paſt a Bill of two Subſidies onely, ſo ſhort of the exceſſive Charge which the Maintenance of ſo great a Fleet and Army required

at

at their hands, that being distributed amongst the Officers, Souldiers, and Mariners, it would scarce have served for *Advance-money* to send them going. Which notwithstanding, the King very graciously accepted of it, taking it as an *Earnest* of their good Affections, in reference to the greater Summes which were to follow.

But the Plague growing hot in *London*, the Parliament on the eleventh day of *July* was adjourned to *Oxford*, there to be held on the first of *August*, at what time the King put them in mind again of the necessity of setting forward his Fleet, and that the eyes of his Confederates were fixt upon it. But the Commons had *other fish to fry*, and began to quarrel at the greatnesse of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom in the last Parliament of King *James* they had idolized above all men living. But he had served their turne already, and now they meant to serve their own.

This was the first Assault which the Com-

Commons made upon this King, though not directly on his Perſon, wounding him thorough the ſides of his principal Miniſter; they were ſo well verſt in the Arts of a Parliament-War, as to take in the Out-works firſt, that ſo the *Fort* it ſelf might lie the more open to continuall Batteries. Concerning which, and the ſad conſequents thereof, take here the words of a Letter written to the King from an unknown Perſon.

"Theſe men, ſaith he, either cannot "or will not remember, that never a- "ny Noble man in favour with his "Soveraign, was queſtioned in Parlia- "ment, except by the King himſelf in "caſe of Treaſon, or unleſſe it were in "the Nonage and tumultuous time of "*Richard* the 2. *Henry* the 6. or *Edward* "the 6. which hapned to the deſtructi- "on both of the King and Kingdome. "And that, not to exceed our own and "Fathers Memories, in King *Henry* the "eight's time, *Wolſies* exorbitant power "and pride, and *Cromwels* contempt of

the

" the Nobility and the Lawes, were
" not yet permitted to be diſcuſſed in
" Parliament, though they were moſt
" odious and grievous to all the King-
" dome, And that *Leiceſters* undeſer-
" ved favour and faults; *Hattons* inſuf-
" ficiency, and *Rawleighs* inſolence far
" exceeded what yet hath been (though
" moſt falſly) objected againſt the
" Duke; yet no Lawyer durſt abet,
" nor any man elſe begin any inve-
" ctives againſt them in Parliament.
" And then he addes (ſome other paſ-
" ſages intervening) that it behoves
" his Majeſty to uphold the Duke a-
" gainſt them, who if he be but de-
" courted, it will be the corner-ſtone on
" which the demoliſhing of his Monar-
" chy will be builded. For if they pre-
" vaile with this, they have hatched a
" thouſand other Demands to pull the
" feathers of the Royalty. they will ap-
" point him Counſellors, Servants, Alli-
" ances, Limits of his Expenſes, Ac-
" compts of his Revenue, chiefly if they
" can (as they mainly deſire) they will
" now

"now dazle him in the beginning of his Reign.

How true a Prophet this man proved, the event hath ſhewn, and the King ſaw it well enough, and therefore ſince he could not divert them from that purſuit, he diſſolved the Parliament, by whoſe neglect (I will not call it a perverſeneſſe) the Fleet went out late, and returned unproſperouſly. In which conjuncture if he had clapt up a Peace with *Spain*, (which the *Spaniards* had as much reaſon to accept as he to offer) he might have prevented the following Rupture betwixt him and *France*, and freed himſelf from the neceſſity of calling Parliaments, till he had no neceſſity for a Parliament to work upon, and then he might have found them as pliant to him as he could reaſonably require.

But he reſolves to try his fortune in another as ſoon as he had performed the ſolemnities of his Coronation, which was celebrated on the ſecond of *February*, (commonly called *Candle-*

mas

mas Day) then next enſuing. In the externall Pomp whereof, he omitted his triumphant-riding thorow the City from the *Tower* to *White-Hall*, the Charge whereof would have ſtood him in ſixty thouſand pounds, as ſome compute it; and he had then more neceſſary occaſions to expend his Money, then Money to anſwer thoſe occaſions. In the ſacred part of it, there was nothing altered, but the adding of a clauſe to one of the Prayers which had been pretermitted ſince the time of King *Henry* the ſixth, and is this that followeth, viz. *Let him obtain favour for the People, like* Aaron *in the Tabernacle*, Eliſha *in the Waters*, Zacharias *in the Temple*; *give him* Peters *key of Diſcipline*, Pauls *Doctrine*. Which clauſe had been omitted in time of Popery, as intimating more Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction to be given to our Kings then the Popes allowed of; and for the ſame reaſon was now quarrel'd by the *Puritan* Faction. As for the Coronation-oath, it was the ſame which had been taken by his

his Predeceſſors, as appears by the Records of *Exchequer*; Not made more advantageous to the King, and leſſe beneficiall to the People by the late Archbiſhop, though both the long Parliament in the year 1642. and the lewd Pamphlets of that time did object the contrary.

The *Coronation* being paſſed over, he began his ſecond Parliament on the ſixth of the ſame moneth, in which he ſped no better then he did in his firſt. The Commons voted ſome Subſidies to be granted to him, but they never paſt them into Act, that bait being onely laid before him to tempt him to give over the Duke to their pride and fury, againſt whom they had framed a large impeachment uſhered in by Sir *Dudly Diggs*, proſecuted with ſix bitter invectives, made by the beſt Speakers and moſt learned Lawyers of that Houſe, and finally concluded by Sir *John Eliot*, who brought up the Rear.

But

1626.

But the King eaſily perceived that his Royal Father and himſelf were as much concerned in it as the Duke, their favours being made his crimes and their authority in beſtowing Offices and Honours on whom they pleaſed, not obſcurely queſtioned.

But the ſtorm went higher then the Duke, ſome part of it falling downright on the King himſelf; it being openly affirmed in the Houſe of Commons by one Mr. *Coke* (a true chip of the old block) *that it was as good to die by a foreign Enemy as to be deſtroyed at home.* Of this reproch, tending ſo much to the diſhonour of his Government, he complained in a Speech before both Houſes, but without any remedy. And being further incenſed by the noiſe of a *Declaration* which they had then upon the Anvil, he diſſolved the Parliament on the eighteenth day of *June* then following.

No ſooner was he freed from this,

but the neceſſity of his Affairs involved him in another Embroylment. The *French* Prieſts and Domeſticks of that Nation which came into *England* with the Queen, were grown ſo inſolent, and had put ſo many affronts upon him, that he was forced to ſend them home; in which he did no more then what the *French* King had done before him, in ſending back all the *Spaniſh* Courtiers which his Queen brought with her. But the *French* King not looking on his own example, and knowing on what ill termes the King ſtood both at home and abroad, firſt ſeized on all the Merchants ſhips which lay on the River of *Burdeaux*, and then brake out into open war. So that the King was fain to make uſe of thoſe Forces againſt the *French*, which were deſigned to have been uſed againſt the *Spaniard*, and to comply with the deſires of the *Rochelers*, who humbly ſued for his protection and Defence. But the Fleet not going out till after *Michaelmas*, found greater oppoſition at the

the Sea then they feared from the Land; being encountred with ſtrong Tempeſts, and thereby neceſſitated to return without doing any thing, but onely ſhewing the Kings good-will and readineſſe toward their aſſiſtance.

1627.

But the next yeare this deſign was followed with greater vigour by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who hoped thereby to make himſelf of ſome conſideration in the eyes of the people. The gaining of the Iſle of *Re*, which lay before the Town of *Rochel*, and imbarr'd their Trade, was the matter aimed at; and he had ſtrength enough both for Sea and Land to have done the work, if he had not followed it more like a Courtier then a Souldier; ſuffering himſelf to be complemented out of the taking of their chief Fort, when it was almoſt at his mercy; and ſtanding upon points of *Honour* in facing thoſe Forces which were

ſent from the *French* King to raiſe the ſiege, when he might have made a ſafe retreat unto his ſhips without loſſe or danger.

In the mean time his Majeſty neither neglected his Affairs at home nor his Friends abroad: At home he found the *Puritan* faction to be much increaſed by the remiſneſſe of the government of Arch-biſhop *Abbot*, whom therefore he ſuſpended from all his Metropoliticall Juriſdiction, and confined him to his Houſe at *Ford* in *Kent*, committing the exerciſe thereof to the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Oxford*, *Bath* and *Wells*, by Letters Patents, bearing date the 9. day of *October*, *Anno* 1627. Abroad he found the Princes of *Germany* wormed out of their Eſtates, one after another, by the Emperours Forces, the King of *Denmark* (whom they had made the Head of their League) being driven out of the Countrey by Count *Tilly*, and hardly able to defend his own Dominions. No Prince ſo fit for the pro-

proſecution of that cauſe, as *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, whom therefore he elects into the Noble Order of the *Garter*, and ſolemly inveſts him with it in the midſt of his Army, then lying at the Siege of *Darſaw*, a Town of *Pomerella* belonging to the Crown of *Poland*, on Sunday the twenty third of *October*, of the ſame year alſo. At which time he laid the grounds of that Confederacy, which being ſeconded by the *French*, the States of the *United Provinces*, and the diſtreſſed Princes of the Empire, brought that King into *Germany*; where he gave the firſt great check to the *Emperours* fortunes, and had reſtored the Prince Elector *Palatine* to his ancient Patrimony, if he had not fallen unfortunately at the Battell of *Lutzen*.

1628.

Being thus ingaged and embroiled, he gave a beginning to his third Parliament on the ſeventeenth of *March*,

and freely declares to them the neceſſities under which he lay: in Anſwer whereunto the Commons voted five *Subſidies*, but meant he ſhould pay dearly for them before he had them. Such grievances as they thought fit to inſiſt upon, were caſt into the mold of a petition, by them called a *Petition of Right*; which if the King granted, he muſt loſe his prerogative; if he denied it, he muſt loſe all hopes of their ſupply in his great extremities. The conſideration of which laſt induced him to yield to their deſires, and confirm that petition by Act of Parliament; the *Prerogative* never ſo much deſcending from Perch to popular Lure, as by that conceſſion. But though this Act of grace might have given ſatisfaction even to ſupererogation (as one well obſerveth) yet the Commons were not ſo contented, but were preparing a Remonſtrance to take away his Right of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, as diſclaimed by him in that Act; which coming to the Kings knowledge, on the twenty

ſixth

ſixth of *June* he adjourns the Parliament till the twentieth day of *October* then next enſuing.

In the mean time the Duke prepares for the relief of *Rochel*, both by Sea and Land, and being ready to ſet ſail, was ſuddenly cut off at *Ports-mouth* by the hand of one *John Felton*, a diſcontented Officer of the laſt years Army, alledging no other reaſon for that bloody act, but that the Duke had been declared an Enemy to the Common-wealth, in a *Remonſtrance* tendred to the King in the former Seſſion.

But ſuch was the conſtancy of the Kings temper, and the known evenneſs of his ſpirit, that this ſad Accident made little or no ſtop in the proceedings of the Fleet, which at the laſt ſet forwards under the command of the Earl of *Lindſey*; who found the Haven of *Rochel* ſo ſtrongly barred, that it was utterly impoſſible for his Ships to force their way (though it was gallant-

ly attempted) and give relief to the beſieged; who thereupon ſet open their Gates, and received their King into their Town without more delay.

To ſmooth his way to the next Seſſion of Parliament, adjourned again till the twentieth of *January*, Arch biſhop *Abbot* is admitted to kiſſe his hand, by whom he is commanded not to fail of his attendance at the Councel table; *Dr. Barnaby Potter* (a through-pac'd Calvinian) is made Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and Mr. *Moutagues* book called *Apello Cæſarem* (for which he had been queſtioned and moleſted in the beginning of the Kings firſt Parliament) muſt be ſuppreſt and called in by Proclamation.

But this little edified with the faction in the houſe of Commons, who not onely took upon them the reforming of the Church and State, but called the *Cuſtomers* in queſtion for levying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, not then granted (nor ever likely to be granted as it had been

been formerly) by Act of Parliament, and diſtraining ſuch Merchants goods as refuſed to pay it. And in this point they went ſo high, that fearing they ſhould be diſſolved before they had vented their own paſſions in that particular, upon the ſecond day of *March* they lockt the Doors of the Parliament-houſe, kept the key thereof in one of their pockets, and held the Speaker by ſtrong hand in his Chair, till they had thundred out their Anathema's not onely againſt ſuch as ſhould dare to levie it, but thoſe alſo who ſhould willingly pay it. The news of which riotous proceeding being brought immediately to the King, he ſent his Band of Penſioners, accompanied by his ordinary Guard, to force open the doors, and going himſelf to the Houſe of Peers, he diſſolved the Parliament, not having continued in that Seſſion above forty dayes.

At the end of the former Seſſion he had admitted Sir *John Savill* of *Yorkſhire*, a buſie man in the Houſe

of *Commons*, (but otherwiſe a politique and prudent perſon) to be one of his Privy Council, created him Lord *Savill* of *Ponfract*, and made him Comptroller of his Houſhold in the place of Sir *John Suckling* deceaſed. And a little before the beginning of the following Seſſion, he took into his Council Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *Wentworth VVoodhouſe* in the ſame County, whom he created Viſcount *VVentworth*, and made Lord Preſident of the North, and within two years after Lord Deputy of *Ireland* alſo. A man he was of prodigious Parts, which he made uſe of at the firſt in favour of the Popular Faction: But being gained unto the King by Sir *Ri. VVeſton* then Chancellour of the *Exchequer*, (afterwards Lord Treaſurer and Earl of *Portland*) he became the moſt devout friend of the *Church*, the greateſt Zelot for advancing *Monarchichall* Intereſſe, and the ableſt Miniſter of State which our Hiſtories have afforded to us.

On

On the judgement of theſe two his Majeſty did much rely in Civil matters, as he did on the advice of Doctor *Neile* then Biſhop of *Durham*, and Doctor *Laud* then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, in matters which concerned the Church. Theſe laſt he had called unto his Council in the beginning of *April*, 1627. and finding them to be of as great abilities to adviſe, as ſincere affections to his perſon; he advanced the firſt to the See of *Wincheſter*, and afterwards to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, *Anno* 1631. the ſecond to the See of *London*, and from thence to *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1633.

1629.

But whileſt it was ſuch hot weather at home, it grew cold abroad, the breach betwixt him and *France* being cloſed up at the ſame time, by the prudent and ſeaſonable intervention of the State of *Venice*. And not long after he concluded a Peace alſo with the King

of

of *Spain*, all things being left on both ſides in the ſame condition in which they were before the war, but that the *Spaniard* did ingage that he would make uſe of all his Intereſt with the Emperour, for reſtoring the Prince Elector *Palatine* to his loſt Eſtate.

And now the King having thrown away his Crutches (which had as often deceived him as he truſted to them) he began to ſtand on his own legs, and in ſhort time became more conſiderable in the eyes of the world then any of his Predeceſſors. The *Spaniard* ſent hither yearly in *Engliſh* Bottoms no leſſe then ſix hundred thouſand Crowns in Bullion, for the uſe of his Army in the *Netherlands*, redounding very much to the Kings benefit in the coinage, and no leſſe to the profit of the Merchants alſo, moſt of the money being returned into *Flanders* in Leather, Cloth, Lead, Tinne, and other the manufactures and Native Commodities of this Kingdome. The *Dutch* and *Eaſterlings*.

lings lookt upon *London* as the ſafeſt Bank, not onely to lodge, but increaſe their Treaſure; ſo that in ſhort time the greateſt part of the Trade of Chriſtendome was driven up the *Thames*.

1630.

To make him yet more eſtimable in the ſight of his People, God bleſt him with a Son, the preſumptive Heir of his Dominions, on the twenty ninth of *May*, *Anno* 1630. and ſeconded that bleſſing with the birth of a Daughter on the fourth of *November*, in the next year after, as afterwards with a plentifull iſſue of both Sexes.

1633.

Nor did he meet with any check in his Proſperity till the year 1633. at what time the Coles of *Faction* and *Sedition*, which ſeemed for ſome years to have been raked up in the aſhes of contentment, kindled the next combuſtible mat-

matter and brake forth again to the inflaming of both Kingdoms. *Scotland* burneth firſt, and takes fire on this occaſion.

In the minority of King *James*, the Lands of all Cathedrall Churches and Religious Houſes which had been ſetled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were ſhar'd amongſt the Lords and great men of that Kingdome, (by the connivence of the Earl of *Murray*, and ſome other of the Regents) to make them ſure unto the ſide. And they being thus poſſeſſed of the ſaid Lands, with the Regalities and Tithes belonging to thoſe Eccleſiaſticall Corporations, Lorded it with pride and inſolence enough in their ſeverall Territories, holding the Clergy to ſmall ſtipends, and the poor Paiſant under a miſerable vaſſalage, and ſubjection to them.

King *Charles* ingaged in War at his firſt coming to the Crown, and having

ving little aid from thence for the maintenance of it. by the advice of his Council of that Kingdome, was put upon a courſe of reſuming thoſe Lands, Tithes and Regalities into his own hands, to which the preſent Occupants could pretend no other Title then the unjuſt uſurpation of their Anceſtors. This he endeavoured, firſt by an Act of *Revocation*, but that courſe not being like to ſpeed, he followed it in the way of a legal proceſſe, which drew on the Commiſſion for *ſurrendring* of *Superiorities* and *Tithes*, to be retaken from the King on ſuch conditions, as might bring ſome profit to the Crown, ſome Augmentation to the Clergy, and far more eaſe and benefit to the common people. But theſe proud *Scots* chuſe rather to expoſe their Countrey to the danger of a publick Ruine, then to part with any of that power (it might be called a Tyranny rather) which they had exerciſed on their *Vaſſals*, as they commonly called them; and thereupon conſpired together to oppoſe the King

King in any thing that ſhould be offered in the following Parliament, which had relation to the Church or to Church-affaires.

But becauſe Religion and the care thereof, is commonly the beſt bait to catch the vulgar, they muſt find out ſome other means to divert the King from the proſecuting of that *Commiſſion*, then the conſideration of their own perſonall and private intereſſe; and they found means to do it on another occaſion, which was briefly this.

King *James* from his firſt coming to this Crown, had a deſign to bring the Kirk of *Scotland* to an uniformity with the Church of *England*, both in government and forms of worſhip. And he proceeded ſo far as to ſettle *Epiſcopacy* amongſt them, naming thirteen new Biſhops for ſo many Epiſcopal Sees as had been anciently in that Church; three of which received Conſecration from the Biſhops of *England*, and conferred it on the reſt of their Brethren at their

their coming home. Which Biſhops he armed alſo with the power of an *High Commiſsion*, the better to keep down the inſolent and domineering Spirit of the *Presbyterians*. In order to the other, he procured an Act to be paſſed in the Aſſembly at *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 16 6. for compoſing a *Liturgy*, and extracting a new Book of Canons out of the ſcattered Acts of their old *Aſſemblies*. At the Aſſembly held at *Perth*, *Anno* 1618. he obtained an Order for receiving the *Communion* kneeling for adminiſtring Baptiſme and the Lords Supper in private Houſes, in caſes of extreme neceſſity, for Epiſcopall Confirmation; and finally, for the celebrating the Anniverſaries of our Saviours Birth, his Paſſion, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, and the coming down of the Holy Ghoſt. All which he got to be confirmed in the following Parliament.

So far that wiſe King had advanced the work of Uniformity, before his engaging in the Cauſe of the *Palati-*

nate.

nate. His Breach with *Spain*, and the War which did iſſue upon it took off his thoughts from proſecuting that deſign, which his ſon, being more intangled in Wars abroad and Diſtempers at home, had no time to finiſh till he had ſetled his Affaires, and attained to ſome meaſure both of Power and Glory. But being it was a buſineſſe which was to be acted leiſurely and by degrees, not all at once, he firſt reſolved upon paſſing of an Act of *Ratification* of all that had been done by his Father, and then to go in hand with the introducing of a publick *Liturgie*. In the effecting whereof, at ſuch time as he went into *Scotland* to receive that unfortunate Crown, he found a ſtronger oppoſition in the Parliament of that Kingdome alſo, about the paſſing of that Act of *Ratification*, then he had reaſon to expect: But carried it at laſt by a far major part of that Aſſembly.

This gave him the firſt taſte of their diſaffection to his Perſon and Govern-

ment;

ment; but he went forward notwithſtanding in purſuit of thoſe purpoſes, which he brought thither with him. For not long after his return into *England*, he gave order to the Dean of his Chappell *Royal* in *Edenburgh*, that Prayers be read therein according to the Engliſh Liturgie; that a Communion be had every moneth, and all Communicants to receive the Sacrament on their knees; that he who officiated, if he be a Biſhop, perform it in his *Rochet* and other Epiſcopall *Robes*; and that he do it in his Surplice, if a common Presbyter; and finally, that not onely the Lords of the Council, but the Lords of the Seſſion, and as many of the principall Magiſtrates of that city alſo as could conveniently, fail not of their attending the Divine Service there on Sundayes and Holydayes: For by this means he gave himſelf no improbable hopes, that the Engliſh Liturgy paſſing a probationerſhip in the Chappel *Royall*, might find a plauſible entertainment in the Churches of *Edenburgh*, and

and be received by degrees in all the reſt of the Kingdome.

But the *Presbyterian Scots* not ignorant of the Kings intentions, inſinuated into the minds of the common People, that this was a deſign onely to ſubject that pure Kirk to the ſuperſtitious Rites and Ceremonies of the *Church of England*, and therefore that it did behove them to ſtand together as one man to oppoſe their entrance.

The Lords and Gentry of that Realm, who feared nothing ſo much as the Commiſſion of *Surrendries* before mentioned, laid hold on this occaſion alſo: And they being ſeconded by ſome male-contented ſpirits of that Nation, who had not found the King to be as prodigal of his favours to them as his Father had been before, endeavoured to poſſeſſe them with *Fears* and *Jealouſies*, that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the form of a Province, and governed by a Deputy or Lord Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was. The like done alſo by ſome Lords of Secret Council, who before had governed as they

they liſted, and thought their power diminiſhed, and their perſons under ſome neglect, by the placing of a Lord Preſident over them to direct in chief.

So that the people generally being fooled into this opinion, that both their *Chriſtian* and *Civil* Liberty were in no ſmall danger, became capable of any impreſſion which the *Presbyterian* Faction could imprint upon them. Which viſibly appeared by a virulent and ſeditious Libel, publiſhed in the year 1634. wherein the King was not onely charged with altering the Government of that kingdome, but traduced for very ſtrong inclinations to the religion of the Church of *Rome*. The chief Abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Balmerino*, for which he was legally convicted and condemned of treaſon, but pardoned by the Kings great goodneſſe, and by that pardon kept alive for the miſchiefs following.

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The fire thus breaking out in *Scotland*, it was no marvel if it had laid hold on *England* alſo, the Puritans of both Nations working themſelves about this time into a Body, and from henceforth communicating their Counſels and deſigns unto one another.

The King not long after his return thought fit to renew his Fathers Declaration about *lawfull ſports* on the *Lords day*: The principall motives whereunto were, the increaſe of Popery in ſome parts of the kingdome, occaſioned by interdicting all honeſt Recreations on that day, and the reſt of the Holydayes; the tendency of the Sabbatarian Doctrine to down-right *Judaiſme*; ſome orders made by ſome publick Miniſters of Juſtice, for ſuppreſsing the Annuall Feaſts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called *Wakes*; and finally, the bringing of Dancing, Running, ſhooting and other harmleſſe Recreations, within the compaſſe of the Statute made in the firſt Parliament of his

his Reign *againſt all unlawfull exerciſes and paſtimes*; in which no ſuch thing was ever intended. And though the Kings intention in it was onely to eaſe the people from that yoke of ſuperſtition which many of their Preachers had laid upon them; yet by the practiſe of thoſe Preachers, it made more noiſe among the People, and wakened more to appear in defence of that which they call *Religion*, then all the Geeſe in the *Capitol*.

Nor did his Majeſty ſpeed much better in another of his pious intentions, concerning the Conformity of Parochiall Churches to their Mother *Cathedrals*. The *Dean* and *Chapter* of S. *Pauls* (as *Ordinaries* of the place) had appointed the Communion-Table to be placed Altar-wiſe at the end of the Chancel, where it had ſtood (and by her injunctions ought to ſtand) in Queen *Elizabeths* time. Againſt this ſome of the pariſhioners appealed to the *Dean of the Arches*, and the *Dean* and *Chapter* to

to the King The cauſe being heard before his Majeſty and the Lords of the Council on the third of *November Anno* 1623. it pleaſed his Majeſty, having firſt ſhewed his diſlike of all Innovations, to declare that he well approved and confirmed the Act "of the "ſaid *Ordinary*, and alſo gave com- "mandment, that if thoſe few pariſhi- "oners before mentioned, do proceed "in their ſaid Appeal, then the *Dean of* "*the Arches* (who was then attending "at the hearing of the cauſe) ſhall con- "firm the ſaid Order of the aforeſaid "*Dean* and *Chapter*. On this encouragement the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in his Metropoliticall Viſitation, beginning in the year next following, and the Suffragan Biſhops in their ſeverall and reſpective Dioceſſes, did appoint the like, for the avoiding of thoſe frequent inconveniences and prophanations which that ſacred table had formerly been expoſed unto.

This made the *Puritan* Faction open wider then before they did, as fooliſh-

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ly afraid of the breaking in of *Superſtition*, by this laſt Declaration, as of *Prophaneneſſe* by the other, And that they might keep pace with the *Scots* in all particulars, they diſperſed many ſcandalous and ſeditious Libels againſt the Government of the Church, and all that acted by and under their Authority, not ſparing the King himſelf if he came in their way; moſt certain tokens and prognoſticks of thoſe great Combuſtions which ſoon after followed in both Kingdomes.

1634.

Nor were there any leſſe Apprehenſions infuſed into them by ſome zealous Patriots, who moſt ambitiouſly affected the Title of Φιλάνθρωποι καὶ φιλοπόλεις, in the Orators language, the profeſt Champions of the *Property* and *Liberty* of the *Engliſh Nation*; the occaſion this: The *Soveraignty* of the narrow Seas, had not onely been invaded by the *Hollanders* during the late

troubles both at home and abroad; but that invaſion had been juſtified in ſome publick writings. And thereupon, by the Advice of Mr. *Noy* his Attorny Generall, he iſſued certain writs in the tenth year of his Reign, *Anno* 1634. directed to all the Port Towns of the Kingdome, to ſet out a certain number of Ships furniſht with Mariners, Amunition, Victuals, and all other neceſſaries, for defence of the Realm; which Writs he afterwards extended alſo to the inland Counties, following therein the examples of his Predeceſſors, with which none was better able to inſtruct him, then he that gave him that Advice. By means whereof he did not only recover that Dominion which belonged to him on the Sea, but very much improved and enricht the Land, as before is ſaid. Which notwithſtanding, ſome of the diſcontented members of the former Parliament, and others of the ſame party, under colour of ſtanding in defence of the Rights and Properties of the Subject, did ſtubbornly

bornly oppoſe the payment of that impoſition, in which the Honour, Wealth, and Happineſſe of this Kingdome was ſo much concerned. And though the King had the opinion of all the Judges, under their hands to juſtifie his proceedings in it; yet choſe he rather to proceed againſt them in a legall way, then to make uſe of any arbitrary power, or the opinion of Judges, which extrajudicially had been given in the caſe. And ſo well did he proſper in it, that when it came to be argued in the Exchequer-chamber, of the twelve Judges, ten abſolutely declared themſelves for the lawfulneſſe of it; the other two (being *Crook* and *Hutton*) diſſenting openly from that opinion, to which they had formerly ſubſcribed. So that here being a mixture alſo both of *Chriſtian* and *Civil* Liberties, which were given out to be in danger; it is no marvel if the Faction in both Nations did conſpire together, to diſturb the peace and happineſſe of this flouriſhing Kingdome.

1637.

The ground thus laid, it was thought fit the first part of the Tragedy should be plaid in *Scotland.* The Bishops of that Church, though they liked well enough of the *English* Liturgy, desired a Liturgy of their own, for fear of acknowledging some dependency of that Church on this; which being composed amongst themselves, and approved by some of the *English* Prelates, to whom his Majesty referred the perusall of it, was recommended to the *Scots* for the use of that Church, and the twenty third day of *July*, *Anno* 1637. appointed for the first exercise and reading of it: on this occasion followed the sedition at *Edenburgh*, encouraged under-hand by the Marquesse of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Roxborow* and *Traquair*, and many other of the Kings false servants, both in Court and Councel.

This sedition afterwards brake out into open Action, the principall Stick-

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lers againſt the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Kings proceedings in the ſame, engaging the whole Nation in a ſolemn Covenant for the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, and whatſoever they were pleaſed to comprehend under the generall Names of *Hereſie* and *Superſtition*, in which not onely the five Articles of *Perth*, but the whole Common-Prayer-Book was intended by them. And that they might be ſure to keep their party together, they bound themſelves in the ſaid Covenant, to ſtand to one another in purſuance and defence thereof, againſt all manner of perſons whatſoever, the King himſelf not being excepted. And though the King, by the perſwaſion of *Hamilton* here, and his untruſty ſervants there, gave order for the ſuppreſſing of that *Liturgy*, the High Commiſſion, the book of Canons, and even the Articles of *Perth*, though confirmed in Parliament, yet nothing could content their pride and inſolency, but the utter aboliſhing of Epiſcopal government: which ſince they

found the King reſolved not to yield unto, they were reſolved to do it without him; in their Aſſembly held at *Glaſco*, aboliſhing the Epiſcopal Order, and thundring their *Anathema's* and excommunications, not onely againſt the Biſhops themſelves, but all ſuch as adhered unto them. And that they might be before-hand with him, they intercepted his Revenews, ſurpriſed all his Forts and Caſtles, and finally put themſelves into open Armes.

1639.

This forced the King to ſet forth againſt them, accompanied with an Army Royall, and furniſhed with ſuch a gallant Company of Lords and Gentlemen, as might aſſure him of a cheap and eaſie victory. But he conceiving that the terrour of his coming would reduce the *Scots* to obedience without blows or bloodſhed, reſolved in himſelf *not to outgo Muſter and Oſtentation*; and thereupon was very eaſily intreated

ted to refer all differences between them to certain Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms.

By their negotiation a generall Accord was made at *Barwick* on the ſeventeenth of *June Anno* 1639. upon which the King preſently disbanded his Forces, and returned towards *London*, having effected nothing by his chargeable expedition, but his making the *Scots* more inſolent then before they were, and giving them a greater Reputation in the eye of the world then before they had; of which he became aſſured and ſenſible when it was too late.

For no ſooner had he disbanded his Army, but the *Pacification* (ſuch as it was) was openly proteſted againſt in the *Scots* Army; and many falſe copies of it were ſcattered abroad, to make it more diſhonourable to the King, and of more advantage to themſelves. The Officers of their Army were retained in pay, the old form of holding Parliaments in that Kingdome was altered

by them, and the prerogatives of the Crown invaded; their words and actions tending to a more generall Defection then before. So that the King was fain to call home his Sheat-Anchor the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whom not long after he created Earl of *Strafford*, in the County of *York*. By whose advice, seconded by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, his Majesty about the beginning of *December* gave a publick intimation of a Parliament, to begin on the thirteenth day of *April* then next following.

And it was intimated so long beforehand for these two reasons. First, that the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdome, which he did, and managed so much to the Kings advantage, that an Army of 8000 Horse and Foot was speedily raised, and money granted by the Parliament to keep them in pay, and furnish them with Ammunition, Arms, and all other necessaries. Secondly, that by the Reputation of a fol-

following Parliament, he might be the better enabled to borrow money for the carrying on of the war, in caſe the Parliament ſhould fail him, as it after did. For being come together at the time appointed, inſtead of Acting any thing in order to his Majeſties ſervice, they were at the point of paſſing a *Vote* for blaſting his war againſt the *Scots*. To prevent which his Majeſty was forced to diſſolve them on the fifth of *May*, the *Convocation* ſtill continuing, who granted him a Benevolence of foure ſhillings in the pound for all their Eccleſiaſticall promotions, to be paid ſix years together then next enſuing.

The Members of the diſſolved Parliament inflamed the peeple in all parts of the Kingdome with ſuch diſcontentments, which actually brake out in *Southwark* into open ſedition, not pacified without much danger, and the executing of the principal Leader. In the middle of which Diſtempers his Majeſty was bleſt with a third Son, born on the

eight of *July*, Chriſtned by the name of *Henry*, and by his Majeſties command called Duke of *Glocester*.

1640.

To welcome this young Prince into the world, the *Scots* put themſelves into Armes again, and backt by a ſtrong faction here, thought that they could not do enough by ſtanding on their defence at home, unleſſe they entred *England* alſo, as they did accordingly. But they took not his Majeſty unprovided, who had raiſed another gallant Army under the command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, as chief Generall, and the Earl of *Strafford* as the chief Commander under him; himſelf with all ſpeed poſting towards the *North*, as ſoon as the News of this invaſion had been brought unto him. But ſcarce was he well ſetled in the head of his Army, but he was followed by a Petition from ſome Lords of *England*, conformable in the main points of it to a Decla-

Declaration of the *Scots*, which they called *the Intention of the Army*. So that the Cloud which gathered behind him in the *South*, threatned more danger to him then the *Northern* Tempeſt, which blew directly in his teeth.

Sailing thus between *Scylla* and *Charibdis*, it concerned him to ſteer as even a courſe as the could, and thereupon he ſummoned the great Councel of his Peers to attend him at *York*, that doing nothing in this great buſineſſe without their advice, he might give himſelf the better hopes of their aſſiſtance, as his occaſions ſhould require. By their advice Commiſſioners are appointed to treat with the *Scots*, to underſtand their Grievances, the reaſonableneſſe or unreaſonableneſſe of their Demands, and finally to make up the breach by ſuch an Accommodation as might conduce to the peace and happineſſe of both Kingdomes, and his Majeſties honour.

In the mean time he calls a Parliament, to begin at *Weſtminſter* the third day

day of *November* then next following, which if it had been held at *York*, as lying neareſt to the danger and Scene of action, might not have proved ſo fatall and deſtructive to him as it after did.

In the beginning of this Parliament, he caſt himſelf on the love and loyalty of his *Engliſh* Subjects, in which he found himſelf deceived of his expectation. For the firſt thing they did, was to deprive him of the Counſels of the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and thereby to terrifie all others from adhering to him in the times of his greateſt need. Theſe they impeacht of High Treaſon, removed them from the Houſe of Peers, and committed them to the *Tower of London*, where the Archbiſhop ſtaid four years before any particular charge, or any proſecution upon that charge, was brought againſt him. But with the Lord *Lieutenant* of *Ireland* they made quicker work, inviting the People of all the three Kingdomes to bring them in ſuch mat-

matter as they had or could deviſe againſt him; and having made all things ready for a publick Tryall, they brought him to the Bar before the Peers, ſitting in *Weſtminſter-Hall* on the ſixth of *April* then next following; but he ſo rationally pleaded in his own behalf, and ſo fully ſatisfied all objections which were made againſt him, that the Commons were fain to deſiſt from the Courſe which they had begun, and to proceed againſt him in a Bill of *Attainder*.

For the better paſſing whereof the Commons framed a *Proteſtation* on the third of *May*, in many things not unlike the *Scotiſh Covenant* before mentioned, by which they bound themſelves among other things, *to maintain and defend the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subject, to endeavour to bring to condigne puniſhment all ſuch as ſhall either by Force, Practice, Plots, Counſels and Conſpiracies, or otherwiſe, do any thing to the contrary*; (amongſt which they

they reckon the Earl of *Strafford* to be one) *and finally to ſtand unto one another, and to every other perſon whatſoever in any thing he ſhall do in purſuance of the ſaid Proteſtation.* Which Proteſtation being firſt taken by themſelves, was the next day taken alſo by the Houſe of Peers, and not long after obtruded on all the reſt of the Kingdom.

But not finding this ſufficient to effect their purpoſe, they firſt forced the Lords by Tumults, and afterwards the King by their importunities to paſſe that unhappy Bill of *Attainder*; which having obtained, they brought him to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill on the thirteenth of *May*, where with as much Chriſtian confidence and magnanimity as could be expreſt by fleſh and blood, he delivered up his neck to the Executioner.

In order to this great work which they knew the *Scots* much laboured for, and had declared ſo much in a Pamphlet called *The intentions of the Army*, at their firſt coming into *England*, the leading

ding men in the houſe of Commons held a ſtrict correſpondency with the *Scots* Commiſſioners then reſiding in *London*, and voted no leſſe then three hundred thouſand pounds (by the name of a *brotherly Aſsiſtance*) to be given to the *Scots* in generall, under colour of repairing ſuch damages as they had ſuſtained in the time of this breach, but in plain truth to bind them faſt unto themſelves. And having made ſure work with them, they deprived the King by little and little of almoſt all the ancient and undoubted prerogatives which of right belonged unto his Crown.

The power of calling Parliaments, in caſe of his neglect or refuſall, is put into the hands of Sheriffs and Conſtables; his right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage* muſt be diſclaimed by Act of Parliament; the *Bill* of the *Attainder* of the Earl of *Strafford*, and that for the continuance of this Parliament during the pleaſure of the Houſes, are extorted by tumults. And by the terrour of the like

like, the Act for *Knighthood* is repealed, and the impoſition for ſhip-mony condemned as an illegall Tax, and aboliſhed alſo. The like Acts paſſed againſt the office of the Clerk of the Market, the Court of *Stanneries*, his propriety in the making of Gun-powder, the authority of the *Council-Table*, the Courts of *Star-chamber* and *High Commiſsion*, the juriſdiction of the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, as alſo the Preſidiall Courts held for a long time in *York* and the Marches of *Wales*. And finally, that he might loſe both his ſtrength in Parliament and his power with the People, they extorted the paſſing of two Acts, the one for taking away the Biſhops Votes and place in the Houſe of Peers, the other for diſclaiming of his power in preſſing Souldiers (enjoyed by all his Predeceſſors) for defence of his Perſon and the Realm.

And that they might the better awe the King to their Conceſſions, the Army of the *Scots* muſt be maintained with

with pay and plunder, till there was almoſt nothing left for them to crave, or the King to grant. But being at the laſt ſent home, his Majeſty followed not long after to ſettle his affairs in that broken kingdome; where to oblige that Nation to him, he confirmed not onely all his former conceſſions by Act of Parliament, but all ſuch things alſo as had been acted by them in their Aſſembly held at *Glaſco*. And more then ſo, he parted with ſo much of his royall Prerogative (invaded and uſurped by them in the late Confuſions) that he had almoſt nothing left remaining to him, but the empty Title, the having of a Sword carried before him, and ſome other outward pomps of Court, which ſignifie juſt nothing when the power is gone.

This good ſucceſſe of the *Scots* encouraged the *Iriſh Papiſts* to attempt the like, and to attempt it in the ſame way as the *Scots* had gone; that is to ſay, by ſeizing his Towns, Forts, and Caſtles, putting themſelves into the body of

an

an Army, baniſhing or impriſoning all ſuch as oppoſe their practiſes, and then petitioning the King for a publick Exerciſe of their Religion. The 23. of *October Anno* 1641. was the day deſigned for the ſeizing of the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, and many places of great importance in the Kingdom. But failing in the main deſign which had been diſcovered the night before by one *Ocanelle*, they break out into open arms, dealing no better with the Proteſtants there then the *Covenanters* had done with the Royall party in *Scotland*.

Of this *Rebellion* (for it muſt be called a Rebellion in the *Iriſh*, though not in the *Scots*) the King gives preſent notice to his Houſes of Parliament, requiring their counſel and aſſiſtance for the extinguiſhing of that flame before it had waſted and conſumed that Kingdome. But neither the neceſſity of the Proteſtants there, nor the Kings importunity here, could perſwade them to levie one man towards the ſuppreſſion of

of thoſe *Rebels*, till the King had diſclaimed his power of preſſing ſouldiers in an Act of Parliament, and thereby laid himſelf open to ſuch acts of violence as were then hammering againſt him. Which having done, they put an army of *Scots* (their moſt aſſured Friends) into the Northern parts of *Ireland*, delivering up into their hands the ſtrong Town and Port of *Carickfergus*, one of the chief keys of that Kingdom; and afterwards ſent a ſmall body of *Engliſh* to preſerve the South, which *Engliſh* forces having done notable ſervice there againſt the Rebels, were kept ſo ſhort both in reſpect of pay and other neceſſaries by the Houſes of Parliament, (who had made uſe of the mony raiſed for the relief of *Ireland* to maintain a War againſt their King) that they were forced to come to a *Ceſſation*, and cheerfully returned home again to aſſiſt the King in that juſt War which he had undertaken for his own defence. The ground and occaſion of which War we are next to ſhew.

At

At ſuch time as he was in *Scotland* and expoſtulated with ſome of the chiefs among them, touching their coming into *England* in an hoſtile manner, he found that ſome who were now leading men in the Houſes of Parliament had invited them to it. And having furniſhed himſelf with ſome proofs for it, he commanded his Attorney Generall to impeach ſome of them of high Treaſon; that is to ſay, the L. *Kimbolton*, a Member of the Houſe of Peers, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Strode*, of the Houſe of Commods. But ſending a Serjeant at Arms to arreſt their perſons, there came a countermand from the Houſe of Commons, by which the Serjeant was deterred from doing his office, and the Members had the opportunity of putting themſelves into the Sanctuary of the City. The next day, being the 4. of *January*, his Majeſty being no otherwiſe attended then with his ordinary Guard, went to the Houſe of Commons to demand the five Members of that Houſe, that he might

might proceed againſt them in a way of juſtice; but his intention was diſcovered, and the birds flown before his coming.

This was voted by the Commons for ſuch an inexpiable breach of priviledge, that neither the Kings qualifying of that Action, nor his deſiſting from the proſecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either ſay or do, would give ſatisfaction. Nothing muſt ſatisfie their *jealouſies* and ſecure their *fears*, but the putting of the *tower of London* into their hands, together with the command of the Royal Navie, as alſo all the Forts, Caſtles, and the Train-bands of the Kingdome, all comprehended under the name of the *Militia*; which if his Majeſty would fling after all the reſt, they would continue his moſt loyall ſubjects. On this the King demurs a while, but having ſhipt the Queen for *Holland*, and got the Prince into his own power, he becomes more reſolute, and ſtoutly holds on the denyal.

Finding the Members too ſtrong for him, and *London*, by reaſon of the con-

continuall Tumults, to be a dangerous neighbour to him, he withdraws to *York*, that being in a place of ſafety, he might the better find a way to compoſe thoſe differences which now began to embroil the kingdome. At *Hull* he had a Magazine of arms and ammunition provided for the late intended war againſt the Scots, and laid up there when the occaſion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to poſſeſſe himſelf, and to make uſe of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own preſervation; but coming before the Gates of the Town, he was denyed entrance by Sir *John Hotham*, who by the appointment of the Houſe of Commons had took charge of that place.

The Gentry of *York-ſhire* who had petitioned the King to ſecure that *Magazin*, became hereby more firmly united to him. The like had been done alſo by the Yeomandry, and thoſe of the inferiour ſort, if his proceedings had not been undermined by the Committee of four Gentlemen, all Members

bers of the Houſe, and all of them Natives of that Countrey, ſent thither purpoſely (in a new and unprecedent way) to lie as Spies upon his Counſels, and as controllers to his actions.

Some Meſſages there were betwixt him and the Houſes of Parliament, concerning the attoning of theſe differences, whilſt he was at *York*. But the XIX. Propoſitions ſent thither to him, did declare ſufficiently that there was no peace to be expected on his part, unleſs he had made himſelf a cypher, a thing of no ſignification in the *Arithmetick* of State.

And now the War begins to open. The Parliament had their Guards already, and the Affront which *Hotham* had put upon his Majeſty at *Hull*, prompted the Gentlemen of *York-ſhire* to tender themſelves for a Guard to his Perſon. This preſently voted by both Houſes to be a levying of War againſt the Parliament, for whoſe defence, not onely the Train-bands of *London* muſt be in readineſſe, and the good people of the

the countrey required to put themſelves into a poſture of arms; but *Regiments of Horſe* and *Foot* are liſted, a Generall appointed, great ſummes of Money raiſed, and all this under pretence of taking the King out of the hands of his evil Counſellours.

The noiſe of theſe preparations haſtens the King from *Yorke* to *Nottingham*, where he ſets up his *Standard*, inviting all his good Subjects to repair unto him, for defence of their King, the Lawes and Religion of their Countrey. He increaſed his Forces as he marched, which could not come unto the reputation of an Army, till he came into *Shropſhire*, where great bodies of the loyall and ſtout-hearted *Welch* reſorted to him.

Strengthened with theſe, and furniſht ſufficiently with Field Pieces, Armes and Ammunition, which the Queen had ſent to him out of *Holland*, he reſolves upon his march towards *London*; but on

on *Sunday* the twenty third of *October* was encountred in the way, at a place called *Edge-Hill*, by the Parliament Forces. The Fight very terrible for the time, no fewer then five thousand men slain upon the place; the Prologue to a greater slaughter, if the dark night had not put an end unto that dispute.

Each part pretended to the victory, but it went clearly on the Kings side, who though he lost his Generall, yet he kept the Field, and possessed himself of the dead bodies; and not so onely, but he made his way open unto *London*, and in his way forced *Banbury* Castle, in the very sight as it were of the Earl of *Essex*, who with his flying Army made all the haste he could towards the City (that he might be there before the King) to secure the Parliament. More certain signs there could not be of an absolute victory.

In the Battel of *Taro*, between the *Confederates* of *Italy* and *Charles* the eight of *France*, it hapned so that the *Con-*

federates kept the Field, poſſeſt themſelves of the Camp, Baggage and Artillery, which the *French* in their breaking through had left behind them. Hereupon a diſpute was raiſed, to whom the Honour of that day did of right belong; which all knowing and impartiall men gave unto the *French*. For though they loſt the Field, their Camp, Artillery and Baggage, yet they obtained what they fought for, which was the opening of their way to *France*, and which the *Confederates* did intend to deprive them of. Which reſolution in that caſe may be a ruling caſe to this; the King having not only kept the Field, poſſeſt himſelf of the dead bodies, pillaged the carriages of the enemy, but forcibly opened his way towards *London*, which the enemy endeavoured to hinder, and finally entred triumphantly into *Oxford*, with no fewer then an hundred and twenty *Colours* taken in the Fight.

Having aſſured himſelf of *Oxford* for his *Winter* Quarters, he reſolved on his Ad-

Advance towards *London*, but had made ſo many halts in the way, that *Eſſex* was got thither before him; who had diſpoſed of his Forces at *Kingſton*, *Brentford*, *Acton*, and ſome other places thereabouts, not onely to ſtop his march, but to fall upon him in the Rear, as occaſion ſerved. Yet he goes forward notwithſtanding as far as *Brentford*, out of which he beats two of their beſt Regiments, takes five hundred Priſoners, ſinks their *Ordnance*, with an intent to march forwards on the morrow after being *Sunday*, and the twelfth of *November*. But underſtanding that the Earl of *Eſſex* had drawn his Forces out of *Kingſton*, and joyning with the *London* Auxiliaries, lay in the way before him at a place called *Turnham-Green* neer *Cheſwick*, it was thought ſafer to retreat towards *Oxford* while the way was open, then to venture his Army to the fortune of a ſecond Battel, which if it were loſt it would be utterly impoſſible for him to raiſe another.

At *Oxford* he receives Propoſitions of peace from the Houſes of Parliament, but ſuch as rather did beſeem a conquering then a loſing ſide. But being reſolved to treat upon them howſoever, he found the Commiſſioners ſo ſtraitned in time, and ſo tied to ſuch particular inſtructions as the Houſes had given them, that nothing could be yielded to which might conduce to the compoſing of the preſent Diſtempers.

At the opening of the *Spring*, the Queen came to him, who had landed at a place in *York-ſhire* called *Burlington-Bay* in the end of *February*, and now brought with her unto *Oxford* ſome ſupplies of men with a conſiderable ſtock of Powder, Arms, and Ammunition.

1643.

The next Summer makes him maſter of the *North* and *Weſt*, ſome few places onely being excepted. The Earl of *Newcaſtle* with his Northern Army had cleared

red all parts beyond *Trent* (but the Town of *Hull*) of the enemies Forces. And with his own Army under the command of Prince *Rupert*, and Prince *Maurice* (two of the younger Sons of his Sister *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*) he reduced the Cities of *Briſtol*, and *Exeter*, the Port Town of *Waymouth*, and all the Towns of any importance in the *Weſtern* parts, except *Pool*, *Lime* and *Plimouth*. So that he was in a manner the abſolute Commander of the Counties of *Wilts*, *Dorſet Somerſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwall*. And though the Towns of *Plimouth*, *Lime*, and *Pool* ſtill held out againſt him, yet were they ſo bridled by his neighbouring Garriſons, that they were not able to create him any great Diſturbance.

The noiſe of theſe ſucceſſes was ſo loud at *London*, that moſt of the leading men in both Houſes of Parliament prepared for quitting of the Kingdome, and had undoubtedly ſo done, if the King had followed his good fortunes,

and advanced towards *London*. But unhappily diverting upon *Gloceſter*, he lay ſo long there, without doing any thing to the purpoſe, that the Earl of *Eſſex* came time enough to raiſe the Siege and relieve the Town, though he made not haſt enough to recover *London* without blowes. For beſides ſome skirmiſhes on the *by*, which fell out to his loſſe, the King with the whole body of his Army overtook him at *Newberry*, where after a ſharp fight (with the loſſe of the Earl of *Carnarvon*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Viſcount *Falkland* on his Majeſties ſide) he had the worſt of the day, and had much ado to ſave his Canon, and march off orderly from the place; followed ſo hotly the next morning, that his own Horſe, which were in the Reere, were fain to make their way over a great part of his *Foot*, to preſerve themſelves.

Being returned to *Oxford* with Succeſſe and Honour, he Summons the Lords and Commons of Parliament to attend

attend there on the twenty ſecond day of *January* then next following; and they came accordingly. And for their better welcome, he advances Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Earl of *Holdernes* and Duke of *Cumberland*, and creates *James* his ſecond Son (born the eleventh day of *October*, *Anno* 1633) Duke of *York*, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his Birth, that they might ſit and vote amongſt them. But being come, they neither would take upon themſelves the name of a *Parliament*, nor acted much in order to his Majeſties deſigns; but ſtood ſo much upon their terms, and made ſo many unhandſome motions to him upon all occaſions, that he had more reaſon to call them a *Mongrel Parliament* in one of his Letters to the Queen, then they were willing to allow of.

1644.

And now the Summer coming on,

and the time fit for Action, he diſmiſſes them to their ſeverall dwellings, and betakes himſelf unto the Field. The frequent traverſes whereof, the interchangeable taking and loſing of Towns by the chance of war, are too many in number to be compriſed in this ſhort Abſtract. It muſt ſuffice if I take notice of thoſe onely which are moſt conſiderable.

His Majeſty prevailing in the North and Weſt, 'twas thought fit by the ruling party in the Houſes of Parliament, to crave aid of the *Scots*, whom they drew in the ſecond time, by the temptations of entring into Covenant with them, for conforming of this Church with that, ſharing amongſt them all the Lands of the Biſhops, and ſacrificing to their malice the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as formerly they had done the Earl of *Strafford*. But beſides theſe plauſible allurements, the Commiſſioners of that Kingdome were to have ſo great a ſtroke in the Government of

of this, that the Houſes could act nothing in order to the preſent war, no not ſo much as to hold a Treaty with the King, without their conſent.

Upon theſe baits they entred *England* with a puiſſant Army conſiſting of one and twenty thouſand men well armed, and fitted for the ſervice : and having made themſelves Maſters of *Barwick*, *Newcaſtle*, and all other places of importance on the other ſide of the *Tweed*, they laid Siege to *York*, where they were ſeconded by the Army of the Earl of *Mancheſter* drawn out of the aſſociated Counties, and the remaining *York-ſhire* Forces under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*.

The news whereof being brought to *Oxford*, Prince *Rupert* is diſpatcht with as much of the Kings forces as could well be ſpared, with a Commiſſion to raiſe more out of the Counties of *Cheſter*, *Salop*, *Stafford*, *Darby*, *Leiceſter*, and *Lancaſter*. So that he came before

York with an Army of twelve thouſand Men, relieved the Town with all things neceſſary, and might have gone away unfought with, but that ſuch Counſell was too cold for ſo hot a ſtomach. Reſolved upon the onſet, he encountred with the enemy at a place called *Marſton-moor*, where the left Wing of his Horſe gave ſuch a fierce Charge on the right Wing of the enemy, conſiſting of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Horſe in the Van, and the *Scots* Horſe in the Reere that they fell foul on that part of their own Foot which was made up of the Lord *Fairfax* his Regiments, and a reſerve of the *Scots*, which they brake wholly, and trod moſt of them under their Horſes feet. But the Princes Horſe following the execution too far, and none advancing to make good the place which they had left, the enemy had the opportunity to rally again, and got the better of the day; taking ſome Priſoners of good note, and making themſelves maſters of his Canon. So that not being able to do any thing in order

der to the regaining of the Field he marched off ingloriouſly, ſquandred away the greateſt part of his Army, and retired to *Briſtol*.

After this blow the Affairs of the North growing more deſperate every day then other, *York* yielded upon compoſition on the ſixteenth of *July* (being a juſt fortnight after the fight) the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle* and ſome principall Gentlemen paſt over the Seas, and the ſtrong Town of *Newcaſtle* was taken by the *Scots* on the nineteenth of *October* following.

In the mean time, the Queen being with child, began to draw neer the time of her Delivery. And it was generally believed that the Earl of *Eſſex* with his Forces had ſome aim on *Oxford*, as the Seat Royall of the King, the Reſidence of his Court and Council, and the Sanctuary of a conſiderable part of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy. In which reſpect it was thought fit that the Queen ſhould remove to

Exceter,

Exceter, as a place more remote from danger, and not far from the Sea, by which ſhe might take ſhipping for *France* as occaſion ſerved.

On the ſixteenth of *April* ſhe began her journey, the King bearing her company as far as *Abingdon*, where they took leave of one another, neither of them having any the leaſt preſage, that the parting Kiſſe which they then took was to be their laſt. Convoi'd with a ſufficient ſtrength of Horſe for her ſecurity on the way, ſhe was received there with as much magnificence as that City was able to expreſſe; and on the ſixteenth day of *June* was ſafely delivered of a Daughter, whom ſhe Chriſtened by the name of *Henrietta*.

Aſſoon as ſhe had well paſſed over the weakneſſes and infirmities incident to Child-bed, ſhe committed the young Princeſſe to the Lady *Dalkeith*, a Daughter of Sir *Edward Villiers*, one of the half Brothers of the Duke of *Buckingham*,

ham, and wife unto the Lord *Dalkeith*, the eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Morton*. Which having done (according to ſome inſtructions which ſhe had received from the King) ſhe took ſhipping at *Pendennis* Caſtle on the fifteenth of *July*, and paſſed into *France*, there to negotiate for ſome ſupplies of money, Arms and Ammunition for the advance of his Majeſties ſervice, and to continue howſoever in the Court of the King her Brother, till ſhe might return again in Honour and ſafety.

And to ſay truth, her Removall from *Oxford* was not onely ſeaſonable, but exceeding neceſſary at that time, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *William Waller* with their ſeverall Forces not long after her departure drawing neer to *Oxford*; on whoſe approch his Majeſty leaving the greateſt part of his Army for defence of that place, marched on directly towards *Wales*. Upon the News whereof, it was thought fit by the two *Generalls*, to divide their Armies;

Armies; it being agreed upon that Sir *William Waller* ſhould purſue the King, and that the Earl of *Eſſex* ſhould march towards the *Weſt*, for the regaining of thoſe Countries.

And now *the myſtery of iniquity* appeared in its proper colours: For whereas it was formerly given out by the Houſes of Parliament, that they had undertaken the war, for no other reaſon but to remove the King from his evil Counſellors: thoſe *evil Counſellours* were left at *Oxford* unmoleſted, and the Kings Perſon onely hunted.

But the King underſtanding of this diviſion, thought himſelf able enough to deal with *Waller*, and giving him the go by, returned towards *Oxford*, drew thence the remainder of his Army, and gave him a ſharp meeting at a place called *Cropredy-bridge*, where he obtained a ſignal victory on the twenty eighth of *June*, and entred triumphantly into *Oxford*. This done he marched after the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had made himſelf maſter of ſome places in the Weſt of good importance. Du-

During this march, it hapned that one of the Carriages brake in a long narrow lane which they were to paſſe, and gave his Majeſty a ſtop at a time of an intollerable ſhower of rain which fell upon him: Some of his Courtiers, and others which were neer about him, offerred to hew him out a way through the hedges with their ſwords, that he might get ſhelter in ſome of the Villages adjoyning; but he reſolved not to forſake his Canon upon any occaſion. At which when ſome about him ſeemed to admire, and marvelled at the patience which he ſhewed in that extremity, his Majeſty lifting up his hat, made anſwer, *That as God had given him Afflictions to exerciſe his patience, ſo he had given him patience to bear his Afflictions.* A ſpeech ſo heavenly and Divine, that it is hardly to be parallel'd by any of the men of God in all the Scripture.

The cariage being mended, he went forward again, and trod ſo cloſe upon the heels of the Earl of *Eſſex*, that at laſt

laſt he drave him into *Cornwall*, and there reduced him to that point, that he put himſelf into a Cock-boat with Sir *Philip Stapleton* and ſome others, and left his whole army to his Majeſties mercy. His Horſe taking the advantage of a dark night, made a ſhift to eſcape, but the Commanders of the Foot came to this capitulation with his Majeſty, that they ſhould depart without their Arms, which with their Canon, Baggage and Ammunition, being of very great conſideration, were left wholly to his diſpoſing.

Immediately after this ſucceſſe, his Majeſty diſpatch'd a meſſage from *Taveſtock* to the two houſes of Parliament, in which he laid before them the miſerable condition of the Kingdome; remembring them of thoſe many meſſages which he had formerly ſent unto them, for an accommodation of the preſent Differences; and now deſiring them to bethink themſelves of ſome expedient by which this iſſue of blood might be dried up, the diſtraction of the

the Kingdome ſetled, and the whole Nation put into an hope of Peace and Happineſſe.

To which Meſſage, as to many others before, they either gave no anſwer, or ſuch an one as rather ſerved to widen, than cloſe the breach, falſely conceiving that all his Majeſties offers of Grace and Favour proceeded either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weakneſſe and irreſolution of his Counſels. So that the *Trage-Comedy* of the *two Harlots* in the firſt of *Kings*, may ſeem to have been acted over again on the Stage of *England*. The King, like the true Mother, compaſſionately deſired that the life of the poor infant might be preſerved; the Houſes, like the falſe Mother, conſidering that they could not have the whole, *voted* that it ſhould be neither *mine* nor *thine*, but divided betwixt them.

But if inſtead of this Meſſage from *Taveſtock*, his Majeſty had gone on his own errand, and marched with his

Army

Army towards *London*, it was conceived that in all probability he might have made an end of the War; the Army of *Eſſex* being thus broken, and that of *Mancheſter* not returned from the Northern ſervice. But ſitting down before *Plimouth*, and ſtaying there to perfect an Aſſociation of the Weſtern Counties, he ſpent ſo much time, that *Eſſex* was again in the head of his Army; being ſeconded by the Earl of *Mancheſter* and Sir *William Waller*, made a ſtand at *Newbery*, where after a very hot fight, with variable ſucceſſe on both ſides, each party drew off by degrees, ſo that neither of them could find cauſe to boaſt of the victory.

Winter comes on, which though it be not ordinarily a time of action, will notwithſtanding afford us ſome variety which will not be unworthy of our obſervation. And firſt, a Garriſon is formed at *Abington*, (a Town within five miles of *Oxford*) by order from the two Houſes of Parliament, under the command of Collonel *Brown*; the King and Coun-

Councill looking on, and ſuffering the Intrenchments to be made, the Works to be raiſed, and the Ordnance to be planted on the ſame.

It cannot be denyed, but that Sir *Henry Gage*, Governour at that time of *Oxford*, and many of the chief Commanders which were then in and about that city, offered their ſervice to the King, and earneſtly deſired leave to prevent that miſchief which by the Intrenchments of this Town muſt needs fall upon them. But the Lord *George Digby*, not long before made principall Secretary of Eſtate, had perſwaded the King unto the contrary, upon aſſurance that he held intelligence with *Brown*, and that as ſoon as the Town was fortified and furniſhed with Victuall, Arms and Ammunition, at the charges of the Houſes of Parliament, it would immemediately be delivered into his Majeſties hand. In which deſign he was out-witted, and conſequently expoſed unto ſome loſs of reputation with all ſorts of people. For *Brown* having brought

brought his project to the *highest round of the ladder* (as himself expressed it) thought it high time to turne it off, and to declare himself for the two Houses against the King; printing not long after all the Letters which passed between him and the Lord *Digby* upon this occasion.

After this followed the taking of *Shrewsbury*, a place of very great importance to the King, as the Gate which opened into *VVales*, situate on a rising ground, and almost encompassed round about by the river *Severn*; that part which is not invironed by water, being wholly taken up and made good by a very strong Castle. By the loss of which Town the Kings former entercourse with his loyall Subjects of *North-VVales* was not onely hindred, but a present stop was given to an Association, which was then upon the point of concluding between the Counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, *Chester*, *VVorcester*, &c. to the great prejudice of the Kings affairs in those Parts of the Kingdome.

Then

Then comes the lamentable death of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, kept for four years a priſoner in the Tower of *London*, as before was ſaid; but reſerved onely as a bait to bring in the *Scots*, whenſoever the Houſes ſhould have occaſion for their ſecond coming; as formerly on the like temptation they had drawn them in, with reference to the Earl of *Strafford*. The Scots being come, and doing good ſervice in the North, it was thought fit they ſhould be gratified with that blood which they ſo greedily thirſted after. And thereupon the Archbiſhop being voted guilty of High Treaſon by the Houſe of Commons, was condemned to die in ſuch a ſlender Houſe of Lords, that onely ſeven (*viz.* the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Bullingbrook*, the Lords *North*, *Gray* and *Brews*) were preſent at the paſſing of the ſentence of his condemnation. Which being paſt, he was brought unto the Scaffold on Tower-hil on the tenth of *January*, where he ended his life with ſuch a modeſt

deſt confidence, and ſo much piety, that his greateſt enemies then preſent, who came to behold the Execution with hearts full of joy, returned back with eyes as full of tears.

Laſt of all, comes another Treaty ſollicited by the King, conſented to by the Houſes with no ſmall difficulty, and that upon condition to have the Treaty held at *Uxbridge*, a Town about fifteen miles from *London*, and more then twice as much from *Oxford*. According unto which appointment the Commiſſioners met on the thirtieth of *January*, accompanied with ſome Divines, for debating the point of Church Government, when it came in queſtion. But this Treaty proved as unſucceſſefull as that at *Oxford* had done before; the Commiſſioners for the Houſes offering no expedient for an Accommodation, nor hearkening unto ſuch as were tendred to them in the name of the King. So that there being no hope of bringing the Warre unto an end this

this way, both parties were reſolved to proceed in the other.

The King having wintred his Army at *Oxford* and the Towns adjoyning, it was thought fit to ſend the Prince into the Weſt to perfect the Aſſociation which had been begun in the end of the laſt ſummer: and in thoſe Countries to advance ſuch further forces as might not onely ſerve for the defence of themſelves, but give ſome reaſonable increaſe to his Majeſties Army.

In the beginning of *April* he ſet forwards towards *Briſtol*, accompanied with the Lord *Culpeper* and Sir *Edward Hide*, as his principall Counſellours, and ſome of the chief Gentry of the Weſt, who were of moſt authority in their ſeverall Countreys. But before he had made himſelf maſter of any conſiderable ſtrength, news came of the unfortunate ſucceſſe of the Battel of *Naſeby*, which much retarded his proceedings; and hearing afterwards that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with his victorious Army was marching towards him, he quit-

quitted *Somerſet-ſhire*, and drew more Weſtward into the middle of *Devon-ſhire*.

Briſtol being taken, and his Majeſties affairs growing worſe and worſe, both there and elſewhere, he ſent a Meſſage unto *Fairfax*, deſiring a ſafe conduct for the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Culpeper* to go to the King and mediate with him for a Treaty with the Parliament. To which after a fortnights deliberation, he receives an anſwer the eight of *November* to this effect, That if he would disband his Army, and apply himſelf unto the Parliament, the Generall himſelf in perſon would conduct him thither.

No hopes of doing good this way, and leſſe the other, *Exeter* being beſieged, and *Barnſtable* taken by the enemies forces, he leaves his Army to the Lord *Hopton*, and withdraws into the Dukedome of *Cornwall*. But finding that Countrey unable to protect him long, he paſſeth into the Iſle of *Silly*, and from thence unto the Queen his Mo-

Mother, whom he found at *Paris*, not doubting but to receive ſuch entertainment in that Court, as might be juſtly looked for by the eldeſt Son of a Daughter of *France*. Which paſſages I have laid together in this place, that I might follow his Majeſties affairs elſewhere with the leſs interruption.

The Prince being gone for *Briſtoll*, as before is ſaid, his Majeſty reſolved on the approch of Summer, to relieve ſuch of his Northern Garriſons; as had been left untaken the year before, and from thence to beſtow a viſit on the aſſociated Counties. But being on his march, and having ſtormed the Town of *Leiceſter* in his way, he returned again ſo far as *Daventry*, upon the news that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* newly made Generall in the place of *Eſſex*, was ſate down before *Oxford*.

Concerning which we are to know, that not long after the beginning of this everlaſting Parliament, the *Puritan*

Faction became ſubdivided into *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; of which the *Presbyterians* at the firſt carryed all before them. The *Independents* growing up by little and little, and being better ſtudied in the arts of diſſimulation, eaſily undermined the others, and outed their Lord Generall, and all that commanded under him, of their ſeverall places, under colour of an Ordinance for *Self-denyall*. That done, they conferred that command on Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a man of more Precipitation then Prudence, not ſo fit for Counſell as Execution, and better to charge on an Enemy then command an Army. With him they joyned Collonel *Oliver Cromwel* (whom they diſpenſed with in the point of *ſelf-denyall*) by the name of Lieutenant General; but ſo that he diſpoſed of all things as Commander in chief, and left *Fairfax* to his old trade of Execution, to which he had been accuſtomed.

The like alteration happened alſo in the Kings Army; Collonel Sir *Patrick Ruthen*,

Ruthen, a man of approved valour and Fidelity, being by his Majeſty made Earl of *Forth* in *Scotland*, was on the death of the Earl of *Lindſey* made the Lord Lieutenant of his Armies; and the next year made Earl of *Brentford*, for the good ſervice he had done in that place. Having both fortunately and faithfully diſcharged that office for two years and more, he was outed of his place by a Court-contrivement made in the favour of Prince *Rupert*, who a little before Chriſtmas laſt was declared *Generalliſſimo* of his Majeſties Forces: which he moſt ambitiouſly aſpired unto, and at laſt obtained, notwithſtanding his late defeat at *Marſton-Moor*-his ſquandring away ſo brave an army, and his apparent want of Age, Experience and Moderation for ſo great a truſt.

By theſe new Generals the fortune of the War, and the whole eſtate of the Kingdome, which lay then at ſtake, came to be decided. For *Fairfax* hearing that the King was come back as far as

Daventry (which was the matter he desired) made directly towards him, with an intent to give him battel, and at a place neer *Naseby* in *Northamptonshire*, the two Armies met on Saturday the 14. of *June*. The King had the better at the first, but Prince *Rupert* having routed one wing of the enemies Horse, followed the chace so unadvisedly, that he left the foot open to the other wing; who pressing hotly on them, put them to an absolute rout, and made themselves Masters of his Camp, Carriage and Canon, and amongst other things, of his Majesties Cabinet, in which they found many of his Letters, most of them written to the Queen, which were after publisht with little honour to them that did it. For whereas the *Athenians* on the like successe had intercepted a packet of Letters from *Philp* King of *Macedon*, their most bitter enemy, unto severall friends, all the rest of those Letters being broke open before the Common Council of *Athens*, one of which was subscribed to the Queen

Queen *Olympias*, was returned untoucht; the whole Senate thinking it a ſhamefull and diſhoneſt act to diſcover and betray the Conjugall ſecrets betwixt man and wife. A modeſty in which thoſe of *Athens* ſtand as much commended by *Helladius Biſantinus*, an ancient Writer, as the chief leading men of the Houſes of Parliament are like to ſtand condemned for the want of it in ſucceeding Hiſtories.

But we return unto the King; who having ſaved himſelf by flight, gathered together ſome part of his ſcattered Forces, but never was able to make head againſt the conquerors; loſing one place after another, till his whole ſtrength was almoſt reduced to *Oxford*, and ſome few Garriſons adjoyning. I ſhall take notice onely of ſome of the principal, *viz. Cheſter*, *Conway*, *Hereford*, *Briſtol*, and *Exeter*, on which ſo great à part of his affairs did moſt eſpecially depend.

Cheſter firſt comes within the danger, a City of great importance in thoſe parts of the Kingdome. To the relief of this place then beſieged by Sir *VVilliam Brereton*, Collonel *Jones*, and others of that party, and at that time brought to ſome diſtreſſe, he made all the convenient ſpeed he could; but was purſued upon the way, and charged in front by the beſiegers, betwixt whom this ſmall Army was routed at a place called *Bauton-Heath*, and the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (newly created Earl of *Lichfield*) killed upon the place; the laſt of three brethren that had loſt their lives in their Princes quarrell.

On this diſcomfiture, the King draws towards the North-Eaſt, and commands the Lord *Digby* with the Remainder of his Horſe to march for *Scotland*, and there to joyn with the Marqueſſe of *Montroſſe*, who with ſmall ſtrengths had acted Miracles in that Kingdome. But at a Village in *Yorkſhire* called *Sherbourn* (a fatall name, but pointing to another place) where he ſur prized 700 of the Parliaments Foot,

he was ſet upon by Collonel *Cotly*, his Forces made drunk with the good fortune of the day very eaſily maſtered, and he himſelf compelled to fly into *Ireland*, never returning ſince that time to his Native Country.

But notwithſtanding the Kings misfortune before mentioned, which happened on the twenty ninth of *September*, the Lord *Byron*, who had the command of the Garriſon in *Cheſter*, held it out gallantly till the firſt of *February*; and then perceiving that there was no hopes of any Succour, came to an honourable compoſition, and gave up the Town, the greateſt part of the Countrey falling into the ſame condition with their mother City.

Before we leave the North-weſt parts, we muſt look upon the fortune of the Town and Caſtle of *Conway*, a place of principall Command on that narrow Channell which runneth between the County of *Carnarvon* and the *Iſle* of *Angleſey*. Before this Town, being then beſieged by Collonel *Mit-*

ton came Doctor *John Williams*, formerly Lord Keeper of the great Seal of *England*, and at that time Arch-biſhop of *York*: Who to ingratiate himſelf with the Houſes of Parliament, and to ſave the charges of compounding for Delinquency, came with ſome forces to the aid of the Beſiegers (ſome ſay in Armour) and encamped there till the place was taken; to the Amazement of the world and the eternall infamy and Reproch of his Perſon.

Briſtol comes next, a place conveniently ſeated for the Trade of *Spain*, the River capable of great Ships, and the port well guarded. At the taking of this City by the Kings Forces, to ſuch ſtrengths as before it had, there was added a Fort Royall (as they called it) then conceived impregnable; into this City Prince *Rupert* (who had ſpent there too much of the year before) had put himſelf at the preſent, and was beſieged not long after by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who came before it on the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, and had it ſurrendred

to

to him without any memorable reſiſtance, together with the old Caſtle and the Royall Fort, on the thirteenth of *September*.

The quick ſurrendry of which place, being ſo well fortified and furniſht with victuall, Arms and Ammunition, and the weak defences which were made to preſerve the ſame, created ſome ſuſpicion of diſloyalty in Prince *Rupert* towards the King his Uncle. There had before paſſed ſome Letters betwixt the King and him, touching the Kings coming to a ſpeedy agreement with his Houſes of Parliament, in which the King was preſt ſo far, that he ſeemed to be diſpleaſed at it. And now this news coming on the neck of thoſe Letters, ſtartled him into ſuch a diſtruſt of his Nephews Loyalty, that he diſpatcht a meſſenger with all ſpeed to the Lords at *Oxford*, to diſplace Collonell *William Legg* (one of the Confidents of Prince *Rupert*) who had ſucceeded Sir *Henry Gage* in the Government of that City, and to put into his place

Sir *Thomas Glenham*, a Gentleman of known extraction, and more known fidelity.

Nor were the Lords of the Council leſſe amazed at the news then his Majeſty was, who thereupon, when Prince *Rupert* and his Brother *Maurice* returned to *Oxford*, commanded them to be diſarmed, and would not ſuffer them to walk the ſtreets with their Swords by their ſides, as they had done formerly; though afterwards by the Kings great goodneſſe, they were reſtored to all apparences of favour, though not to any ſpeciall places of Command or Truſt.

Hereford followes the ſame fortune, which having in vain been beſieged by the *Scots*, from the 13. of *July* to the firſt of *September*, was ſuddenly ſurprized by Collonel *Birch* and Collonel *Morgan* (this laſt then Governour of *Gloceſter*) on the eighteenth of *December*.

Exceter holds out longeſt, and was laſt attempted, ſuch blocks as lay in the way between *Fairfax* his Army and that City

City being firſt in the courſe of war to be removed. Which took up ſo much time that it was the twenty fifth day of *January* before *Faireſax* could come neer enough to give it a Summons, and being ſummon'd it held out till the thirteenth of *April*, and then was yielded upon as honourable Conditions as any other whatſoever; all other Garriſons in the Weſt being firſt ſurrendred, the Princes forces worſted at *Torrington*, not long after diſbanded upon Compoſition, and he himſelf retired into *France* for his perſonall ſafety.

All theſe miſchances thus hapning on the neck of one another, all the Kings hopes and expectation reſted upon the coming of Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, created Lord *Aſtley* of *Reading* two years ſince; Who having kept together ſome Remainders of the Kings Forces ſince the Fight neer *Cheſter*, and increaſing them with the Acceſſion of ſome freſh ſupplies, marched towards the King, and was to have been met upon the way by Sir *John Crampſ-*

Campsfield with the *Oxford* Horſe. But either through the want of intelligence, or the neceſſity of fate, or ſome occaſionall delayes, it was ſo long before *Campsfield* was upon his march, that the news came of the Lord *Aſtleys* being vanquiſh'd at a place called *Donnington* neer *Stow* on the *Wold*, on the 21 of *March*. In which fight himſelf was taken priſoner, and with him all the Kings hopes loſt of preſerving *Oxford*, till he could better his condition.

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In this extremity he left the City in diſguiſe on the 27 day of *April*, *Anno* 1646. and on the fourth of *May* put himſelf into the hands of Scots, then lying at the ſiege of *Newark*. After the taking of which Town, they carried him to *Newcaſtle*, and there kept him under a Reſtraint.

The news hereof being brought to *Oxford*, and ſeconded by the coming of

of the whole Army of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who laid ſiege unto it, diſpoſed the Lords of the Council, and ſuch of the principall Gentry who had the conduct of the Affair, to come to a ſpeedy Compoſition. According whereunto, that City was ſurrendred on *Midſomer* day; *James* Duke of *York* the Kings ſecond Son, together with the Great Seal, Privy Seal, and Signet, were delivered up into the hands of the enemy: by whom the young Duke was ſent to *Weſtminſter*, and kept in the Houſe of S. *James* under a Guard with his Brother and Siſters; the Seals being carried into the Houſe of Peers, and there broke in pieces.

But long theſe young Princes were not kept together under that reſtraint, the Princeſs *Henrietta* being in a ſhort time after conveyed into *France* by the Lady *Dalkieth*; and the Duke of *York*, attired in the habit of a young Lady tranſported into *Holland* by one Captain *Bamfield*.

The *Scots* in the meane time being deſirous

deſirous to make even with their *Maſters*, to receive the *wages* of their *iniquity*, and to get home in ſafety, with that ſpoil and plunder which they had gotten in their marching and remarching betwixt *Tweed* and *Hereford*, had not the patience to attend the leiſure of any more voluntary ſurrendries. They therefore preſſed the King to give order to the Marqueſſe of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, and to all the Governours of his Garriſons in *England*, to give up all the Towns and Caſtles which remained untaken, to ſuch as ſhould be appointed to receive them for the Houſes of Parliament, aſſuring him that otherwiſe they neither could nor durſt continue him in their protection.

To this neceſſity he ſubmitted, but found not ſuch a generall obedience to his commands as the *Scots* expected. For not the Marqueſſe of *Ormond* onely, but many of the Governours of Towns and Caſtles in *England* conſidered him as being under a conſtraint, and ſpeaking rather the ſenſe of others then his

his own; upon which grounds they continued ſtill upon their guard, in hope of better times or of better conditions.

But nothing was more hotly preſſed by the *Scots*, then that the Marqueſſe of *Montroſſe* ſhould lay down his Commiſſion, who with ſmall ſtrength in the beginning, and inconſiderable forces when they were at the beſt, had acted things in *Scotland* even unto admiration. For beſides many victories of leſſe conſequence, he had twice beaten the Marqueſſe of *Argile* out of the field, followed him home, and waſted his Countrey with Fire and Sword. He vanquiſht *Baily*, one of the beſt Souldiers of the Faction, commanding over a well-formed Army in a ſet battel fought between them; followed his blow, and made himſelf Maſter of the City and Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, releaſing divers of his Friends who had been ſeized and impriſoned there when he firſt took arms. Had the Lord *Digby*'s Horſe come to him, he had not onely

per-

perfected, but aſſured the conqueſt of that Kingdome. But inſtead of thoſe aids which he expected, he was unexpectedly ſet upon, and his whole Army broken by *David Leſley*, ſent from the *Scots* army in *England* with ſix thouſand Horſe to oppoſe the progreſſe of his fortune; whoſe coming being known to the Earl of *Roxborow* and *Traquair*, (in whom the King continued ſtill his wonted confidence) was purpoſely concealed from him; to the end that he being once ſuppreſſed, and in him the Kings power deſtroyed in *Scotland*, they might be ſure from being called to an account of their former Treaſons: however he began to make head again, and was in a way of well-doing, when he received the Kings command to disband his Forces; to which he readily conformed, took ſhip, and put himſelf into a voluntary exile.

Theſe Obſtacles removed, his Majeſty conceived ſome thoughts of finding Sanctuary in *Scotland*, the Scots having

having firſt aſſured him, (as he ſignified by Letter to the Marqueſſe of *Ormond*) before he put himſelf into their hands, that they would not onely take his perſon, but ſo many of his party alſo as repaired unto him, into their protection, and ſtand to him with their lives and fortune. According to which hopes on his part, and thoſe aſſurances on theirs, he had a great mind to return to his Native Countrey, his *Ancient and Native Kingdome*, as he uſed to call it, there to expect the bettering of his condition in the changes of time.

But the *Scots* hearing of his purpoſe, and having long ago caſt off the yoke of Subjection, voted againſt his coming to them in a full Aſſembly; ſo that we may affirm of him as the Scripture doth of Chriſt our Saviour, *viz. He came unto his own, and his own received him not.* The like reſolution alſo was entertained by the Commiſſioners of that Nation, and the chiefe Leaders of their Army, who had contracted

tracted with the *Houſes* of Parliament, and for the ſumme of two hundred thouſand pounds in ready money, ſold and betrayed him into the hands of his Enemies, as certainly they would have done with the Lord Chriſt himſelf for halfe the money, if he had *bowed the Heavens and came down to viſit them.*

By the Commiſſioners ſent from the Houſes to receive him, he was conducted to *Holdenby* a fair houſe of his own, and one of the goodlieſt Piles in England, ſcituate not far from *Naſeby*, (to the intent that he might be continually grieved with the ſight of the fatall place of his overthrow) but kept ſo cloſe that none of his Domeſtick ſervants, no, not ſo much as any of his own Chaplains were ſuffered to have Acceſſe unto him.

In the mean time a breach began betwixt the *Preſbyterian* Party in both Houſes and ſome chief Officers of the Army, which growing every day wider and wider, one Cornet *Joice*, with

with a conſiderable party of Horſe, was ſent to ſeize on his Majeſties Perſon, and bring him ſafe to their head Quarters. There at the firſt he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of Love and Duty, ſome of his Chaplains licenſed to repair unto him, and read the Book of Common-Prayer as in former times, and the way open to all thoſe of his party who deſired to ſee him.

This made the Animoſities between thoſe of the two Houſes and the Army to be far greater then before, the City cloſing with that party of the Houſes which deſired the Kings coming to the Parliament, and going down in a tumultuous manner required the preſent voting of a Perſonal Treaty. This made the Speaker and ſuch of both Houſes, as either held for the Army or had no mind to ſee the Kings Return to *London*, to quit the Parliament, and to betake themſelves to their Protection; incouraged wherewith they reſolved upon their march towards *London*,

to

to reſtore thoſe members to their Houſes, and thoſe Houſes to the Power and Freedom of Parliaments. Upon the noiſe of whoſe Approch, the Citizens who before ſpake big, and had begun to raiſe an Army, under the Command of the Lord *Willowby* of *Parham*, ſent their Petitions for a peace, and gladly opened all their works between *Hide-Park* Corner and the *Thames*, to make an entrance for the Army; who having placed their Speakers in their ſeverall Chaires, and ſuppreſt thoſe of the oppoſite party, made a triumphant paſſage through the chief Streets of the City, with Trumpets ſounding, Drums beating, and Colours flying.

The King removed from one place to another, was brought in the courſe of thoſe Removes to *Caſam* Lodge, an Houſe of the Lord *Cravens* not far from *Reading*, where he obtained the favour of giving a meeting to his Children at *Maydenhith*, and there they dined together; the Generall willingly conſent-

consenting, and the Houſes then not daring to make any denyall.

From thence he was at laſt brought to his own Palace of *Hampton Court*, where being terrified with the Apprehenſion of ſome Dangers, which were given out to be deſigned againſt his perſon by the *Adjutaters*, who for a time much governed the lower part of the Army, he left that place, accompanied onely with two or three of his ſervants, and put himſelf unfortunately into the power of Collonel *Hammond* in the *Iſle* of *wight*, where no relief could come unto him.

Being ſecured in *Carisbrook Caſtle*, Propoſitions are ſent to him from the Houſes of Parliament, as had been done before at *Newcaſtle*, and *Holden-by-Houſe*: to which he returned the ſame Anſwer now as he did before, their Demands being nothing bettered, and his condition nothing worſe then before it was. Provoked wherewith, the Houſes paſt their *Votes* of *Non-Adreſſes* to his Majeſty, and

and take the Government upon themſelves, as in the times of *Vacancy* and *Inter-regnum* in the State of *Rome*; wherein they were confirmed by a Declaration from the Army, binding themſelves to ſtand to them in defence of thoſe Votes.

During the time of theſe reſtraints, he betook himſelf to meditation, and then compoſed that moſt excellent Book entituled Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *or the Pourtraiture of his ſacred Majeſty in his Solitudes and Sufferings.* The Honour of this work ſome mercenary Sticklers for the two Houſes of Parliament have laboured to deprive him of, and to transfer it to ſome other, though they know not whom. But it is well known to all that knew him, that his Majeſty had alwayes a fine ſtroke with his pen, which he practiſed at all times of leaſure and receſſe from buſineſſe, from before his coming to the Crown, to theſe laſt extremities. By which means he became Maſter of a pure and elegant Stile, as both his intercepted Let-

Letters, and thoſe to Mr. *Henderſon* at *New-Caſtle* in the point of *Epiſcopacy* where he could have no other helps but (what he found in himſelf) do moſt clearly evidence.

1648.

And now the Subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had joyned in Arms againſt him, began to look upon his Eſtate with Commiſeration; and ſeeing they could obtain no favour, or freedom for him in the way of Petition, they reſolved to try their fortunes in the way of Force,

And firſt a very conſiderable part of the Royall Navy, encouraged by Captain *Batten*, formerly Vice-Admirall to the Earl of *Warwick*, was put into the power of the Prince of *Wales* to be made uſe of for his Majeſties ſervice in that ſad condition; and next the *Kentiſh*, who twice or thrice before had ſhewed their readineſſe to appear in Arms on his behalf, put themſelves into

into a poſture of War under the conduct of one Maſter *Hales* (an Heir of great hope and expectation) and after under the command of *George* Lord *Goring* Earl of *Norwich*. The Earl of *Holland*, whom he had cheriſht in his Boſome, and who unworthily deſerted him in the firſt beginning of his troubles, repenting when it was too late, of his great diſloyalties, began to raiſe ſome ſmall Forces in the County of *Surrey*; *Langhern*, *Poyer*, and *Powel*, who before had ſerved under the pay of the Houſes, ſeized on ſome ſtrong Towns and Caſtles in *South-Wales*, and declared againſt them; the Caſtle of *Pomfret* was ſurprized by Stratagem, and kept by them who had ſurprized it, for his Majeſties ſervice. And finally the Marqueſſe of *Hamilton* (not long before created *Duke Hamilton* of *Arran*) having raiſed a ſtrong Army of *Scots*, confederated himſelf with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Thomas Glenham* and others of the Kings party in the North, and having Garriſoned the

the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, paſt into *England* with his Forces under colour of reſtoring the King to his Crown and Liberty.

But theſe eruptions in both Kingdoms, though they might give hi Majeſty ſome hopes of a better condition, yet did they not take him off from looking ſeriouſly into himſelf, and taking into Conſideration thoſe things which had formerly paſſed him, and which might ſeem moſt to have provoked Gods diſpleaſure againſt him.

And what they were which moſt particularly grated on his Conſcience appeareth by the *Prayer* and *Confeſsion* which he made for the times of his Affliction; and is this that followeth, *viz.* "Almighty and moſt merciſull Father, "as it is only thy goodneſſe that admits "of our imperfect Prayers, and the "knowledge that thy mercies are infi-"nite, which can give us any hope of "thy accepting or granting them; ſo

"it is our bounden and neceſſary Duty
"to confeſſe our Sins freely unto thee:
"and of all men living, I have moſt
"need, moſt reaſon ſo to do, no man
"having been ſo much obliged by
"thee, no man more grievouſly offen-
"ding thee: that Degree of know-
"ledge which thou haſt given me,
"adding likewiſe to the guilt of my
"Tranſgreſſions. For was it through
"ignorance that I *ſuffered innocent*
"*blood to be ſhed by a falſe pretended*
"*Juſtice? Or that I permitted a*
"*wrong way of thy worſhip to be ſet up*
"*in Scotland*, and *injured the Biſhops in*
"*England?* O no; but with ſhame
"and grief I confeſſe, that I therein
"followed the perſwaſions of worldly
"wiſdome, forſaking the Dictates of
"a right-informed Conſcience. Where-
"fore O Lord, I have no excuſe to
"make, no hope left but the multitude
"of thy mercies; for I know my re-
"pentance weak, and my Prayers faul-
"ty. Grant therefore, mercifull Fa-
"ther, ſo to ſtrengthen my repentance,

and

"and amend my Prayers, that thou "maiſt clear the way for Thine own "mercies; to which O let thy Juſtice "at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedy "end to my deſerved Afflictions. In "the mean time, give me Patience to "endure, Conſtancy againſt temptati-"ons, and a Diſcerning Spirit to chuſe "what is beſt for thy Church and Peo-"ple which thou haſt committed to "my charge. Grant this, O merci-"full Father, for thy Son Jeſus Chriſts "ſake, our onely Saviour, Amen.

Now as the King thus armed himſelf againſt all future events, in the middle of theſe hopes and expectations; ſo the Houſes of Parliament were not wanting to themſelves in their care and diligence to deſtroy thoſe hopes, and make thoſe expectations fruitleſſe and of no effect. For the Storm thus breaking out on all ſides, Lieutenant Generall *Cromwel* with ſome part of the Army is ordered to march into *Wales*; where he reduced ſuch Towns and Ca-

ſtles under his command as had before been manned againſt them, the three chief Captains above named yielding themſelves upon the hopes of that mercy which they never taſted. This done he haſteneth towards the *Scots*, whom he found in *Lancaſhire*, diſcomfits them, takes all their Foot, with their Canon, Arms, and Ammunition. The Duke or Marqueſſe, with his Horſe, which had eſcaped out of the fight, were ſo cloſely followed by the diligence of the purſuers, that moſt of his Horſe being ſlain or taken, himſelf was ſent Priſoner unto *London*.

Following his blow, *Cromwel* beſtowes a viſit on *Scotland*, ſuppreſſes all thoſe in that Kingdome, who ſtood in any ſort ſuſpected of the crime of Loyalty, the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* being delivered into his hands without blowes or Blood-ſhed. An expedition which he made good uſe of in his following Counſels, diſcovering by this means the weakneſſe and condition of the

the Countrey, the irreconcilable Factions and part-takings amongſt the great ones of that Realm, on whoſe divided wills and pleaſures all the reſt depended; and on what ſide they lay moſt open and aſſaultable, when any further occaſion ſhould be taken (as there after was) to attempt upon them.

In the mean time ſome Troops of the other part of the Army ſcatter the weak forces of the Earl of *Holland*, who flying towards the North, is taken at Saint *Neots* in the County of *Huntingdon*, and ſent Priſoner unto *London* alſo. The *Kentiſh* being either ſcattered, or forced over the *Thames*, put themſelves into the Town of *Colcheſter*, and are there beſieged by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* himſelf with his part of the Army. The iſſue of which Siege was this, that after ſome extremities endured by the beſieged, the place was yielded upon compoſition, the Townſmen to be ſafe from plunder, the Souldiers and their Commanders to yield themſelves

Priſoners

Priſoners abſolutely without any Conditions. The Principal of theſe were the Lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Liſle*, all of them of approved valour and fidelity: of which the two laſt were ſhot to death upon the place, the firſt reſerved for the Scaffold; on which he lookt death in the face with as much magnanimity, as *Hamilton* and *Holland* (who ſuffered at the ſame time with him) entertained it with a poorneſs and Dejection of Spirit.

And which was worſt (becauſe it loſt ſome Reputation to the Prince in his firſt Attempt) the Marriners growing diſcontented that Prince *Rupert* was appointed to be their Admirall, inſtead of the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, by whom they deſired to be commanded, fell off with many of their Ships, and returned again to their old Admirall the Earl of *Warwick*. By the withdrawing of which Ships he was rendred the leſſe able to do any thing conſiderable on the Sea, and landing with ſome Forces

Forces neer *Deal*-Caſtle in *Kent*, ſped not ſo fortunately as both his Friends hoped and himſelf expected.

But notwithſtanding theſe Succeſſes, the Houſes ſeeing how deſirous the whole Nation was of a Perſonall Treaty, recalled their *Votes* of *No-Addreſs*, and ordered that a Perſonall Treaty ſhould be held with his Majeſty at *Newport* in the *Iſle of VVight*, to begin on the eighteenth day of *September* next following. But the Commiſſioners which were ſent to mannage this Treaty, ſpent ſo much time upon each *Nicety* and *Punctillio* of the Propoſitions, before they drew towards a Concluſion, that they gave the Officers of the Army too much opportunity to frame and publiſh a *Remonſtrance*, bearing date at *S. Albans* on the ſixteenth of *November*. In which it was declared that the King was the ſole cauſe of all that blood-ſhed which had been made in the Kingdome, that he was incapable of any further truſt in the publick go-

vernment, and that nothing could be more expedient to the ſafety of the Common-wealth, then to bring him to the Bar of Juſtice. Nor ſtaid they there, but in purſuit of this Deſign, ſome of the Officers were appointed to go into the *Iſle* of *Wight*, and having ſeized upon his Perſon to bring him over to *Hurſt* Caſtle in *Hampſhire*, from whence they brought him by degrees to *Windſor*, and at laſt to *Weſtminſter*. And on the other ſide the *Independent* Party in the Houſe of *Commons* (holding intelligence with the Army) voted his Majeſties Conceſſions to be ſo unſatisfactory, that no well-grounded Peace could be built upon them.

In the next place, a care was taken by the Army to purge the Houſe of all thoſe members to whom his Majeſties condeſcenſions had given ſatisfaction. Which done, a New Court, called the *High Court of Juſtice*, is to be ſet up, a Preſident of the ſame appointed, certain Commiſſioners nominated to

Act

Act as Judges, and a ſet time deſigned to call his Majeſty to a Tryall, in an unprecedented way, before his Subjects.

It is reported that at his going from the *Bar*, one of the Souldiers moſt barbarouſly ſpit in his face, and uſed very reproachfull words againſt him. Which though his Majeſty ſuffered with his wonted patience, yet the Divine vengeance would not ſuffer it to go unrevenged; that wretch being not long after condemned in a Court of War, for ſome endeavours to make a Mutiny in the Army, and openly ſhot to death in S. *Pauls* Church-yard.

And now Saturday the 20 of *January*, the day of his appearing being come, his Majeſty was brought from the Palace of Saint *James* unto *Weſtminſter Hall*, to appear before the new Judges, and anſwer unto all particulars which are thought fit to be objected.

His appearance could not be avoided, in regard he was under a conſtraint;

but no conſtraint could force his will to make him acknowledge their Authority, or ſubmit himſelf unto their judgement. He would not ſo betray the Liberty of the Engliſh Subject (as he plainly told them) to any arbitrary and lawleſſe Power, as he muſt needs do by ſubmitting unto their proceedings; and therefore ſince the Laws and Liberties of the Land were now in queſtion, he ſtood reſolved to dy a Martyr for them both. For which contempt (having ſtood reſolutely on the ſame term, as oft as he was brought before them) he was ſentenced on Saturday the twenty ſeventh of the ſame moneth to loſe his life, by the dividing of his head from his body.

That fatall morning being come, the Biſhop of *London*, who attended on him in that ſad exigent, read the morning Prayers, and for the firſt Leſſon thereof, the 27 Chapter of S. *Matthews* Goſpel, relating the Hiſtory of our Saviours Sufferings under *Pontius Pilate*,

late, by the practiſe of the chief Prieſts, the Scribes and Phariſees, and others of the *Great Council* of the *Jewiſh* Nation. At firſt his Majeſty conceived that the Biſhop had made choice of that Chapter, as being very agreeable to his preſent condition; But when he underſtood that it was the Chapter which the Church had appointed for that day in her publick *Kalendar*, he ſeemed to apprehend it with ſome ſignes of rejoycing.

No ſooner had he done his Devotions, but he is hurried to *White-Hall*, out of the Banqueting-houſe, whereof a way was forced to a *Scaffold* on which he was to act the laſt part of his *Tragedy* in the ſight of the people. Having declared that he died a Martyr for the Lawes of his Kingdome, and the Liberties of the ſubjects, he made a Confeſſion of his Faith, inſinuating that he died a true Son of the Church of *England*; he betook himſelf to his private Devotions, and patiently ſubmitted that Royal Head to an Executioner, which had

had before been crowned with ſo much outward Pomp and Splendour.

The Members of both Houſes had often promiſed him in their Petitions, Meſſages and Declarations, that they would make him a *great and glorious King*, and now they were as good as their words, changing his fading but painfull *Crown of Thorns*, which they firſt *platted* for him, to an *immarceſſible Crown of Glory*.

At his firſt coming to the Crown, one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and now a Biſhop in this Church, taking good heed unto the cloſe contrivances of ſome, and the ſeditious actings of others in his two firſt Parliaments, thought fit to give him and his Council ſuch an *item* of it, as might awaken them to prevent thoſe miſchiefs which otherwiſe might enſue upon it. And thereupon he preached before them on theſe words of S. *Matthews* Goſpel; *viz. But when the husbandmen saw the Son,*

Son, they ſaid among themſelves, This is the heir, come let us kill him, and let us ſeize on his inheritance, Mat. 21. 38. In the diſſecting of which Text, he made ſuch an Anatomy of the Husbandmen, whom he had in hand (with reference to ſome Plots and Practiſes which were then on foot) and his whole diſcourſe upon the ſame, that he gave the King and thoſe about him ſuch Remembrances, as might make them have an eye unto themſelves and the publick ſafety. But then withall (though he carried on the matter with great care and prudence) he drew ſo much danger on himſelf from ſome leading Members in the ſecond Parliament, who thought themſelves as much concerned in the Sermon as the chief Prieſt and Phariſees did in the Parable, that he was upon the point of leaving the Kingdome, when he had news that his Majeſty had diſſolved the ſecond Parliament in no ſmall diſpleaſure.

What he then preached concerning the

the ſaid Husbandmen, was after practiſed, and that he then fore-ſignified was accompliſhed now. Which ſhewes him to have been both a Prieſt and a Prophet, if at the leaſt the name of a Prophet may be given unto any man who foretelleth not of things to come by Divine Revelation, but out of a deep inſight into buſineſſe.

But we return unto the King, whom if we looke on in his Children (the moſt lively Images and Repreſentations of deceaſed Parents) we ſhall find him to have been the Father of four Sons and five Daughters.

1. CHARLES-JAMES born at *Greenwich* on Wedneſday the 13. of *May*, 1629. but died almoſt as ſoon as born, having been firſt chriſtened by Dr. *Wehl*, one of the Chaplains in Attendance, and afterwards a Biſhop in *Ireland*.

2. CHARLES Duke of *Cornwall* by Birth, Prince of *Wales* in Deſignation,

tion, and Knight of the Garter, born at his Majeſties houſe of Saint *James* neer *VVeſtminſter*, *May* 29. 1630. ſolemnly crowned King of the *Scots* at *Edenburgh* on the firſt day of *January*, *Anno* 1650. But being invaded by an Army from *England*, under the command of Generall *Cromwell*, he was forced to quit that Kingdome and try his fortunes in the other; ſo cloſely followed by the Army, which compelled him to that Expedition, he was fought with neer *VVorceſter* on the third of *September* 1651. before the Earl of *Darby* and ſome others of his party here could come to aid him with their Forces. In which Battel, though he acted beyond the expectation of his Friends, and to the great applauſe of his very Enemies; yet it ſo pleaſed the Divine Providence that he loſt the day, and being miraculouſly preſerved (notwithſtanding the diligent ſearch which was made after him) he paſſed ſafely over into *France* to the Queen his Mother. Finding that Court unſafe for him,

him, he passed into *Flanders*, accompanied with his Brother the Duke of *York*, *Anno* 1654. where they have continued ever since.

3. JAMES born in the same place on the 13. day of *October Anno* 1633. entituled Duke of *York* by his Majesties command at the time of his birth; created so by Letters Patents, bearing date at *Oxford*, *January* 27. *Anno* 1643. and not long after made Knight of the Garter. Taken prisoner at the surrendry of *Oxford*, *June* 24. 1646. he was carried to his Majesties house of Saint *James*, and there kept under a Guard with his Brother and Sister; but being attired in the habit of a young Lady, he was conveyed thence about two years after by one Gollonel *Bamfield*, who brought him safely into *Holland*, and presented him a most welcome guest to the Princesse of *Orange*, from whence he past afterwards into *France* to his Mother and Brother.

4. HENRY

4 HENRY born on the eighth of *July*, deſigned to the Dukedome of *Gloceſter*, and ſo commanded to be called. Left by his Majeſty at the Houſe of Saint *James* (the place of his birth) at ſuch time as he withdrew towards the North, *Anno* 1642. he remained there till the Death of his Father, and ſome years after, and then upon the promiſe of an Annual penſion, was permitted to go into *France* to his Mother and the reſt of the Kings Children. But in the year 1654. almoſt as ſoon as his two elder Brethren had removed themſelves into *Flanders*, he found a ſtrong practiſe in ſome of the Queens Court to ſeduce him to the Church of *Rome*, whoſe Temptations he reſiſted beyond his years, and thereupon was ſent for by them into *Flanders*.

5. MARY born on the fourth of *November*, 1631. and married to Count *Villiam* of *Naſſau* Eldeſt Son to *HENRY* Prince of *Orange*, on Sunday the ſecond of *May*, *Anno* 1641. conveyed by

by the Queen her Mother into *Holland* in *February* following, where she still remains. Her Husband having succeeded his Father in all his Titles and Estates, died young, and left her the hopefull Mother of a Son, now Prince of *Orange*.

6. ELIZABETH born the twenty eighth of *January* 1635. survived her Father, but died with heart grief not long after.

7. ANNE born the seventeenth of *March* 1637. died before her Father.

8. KATHARINE, who died almost as soon as born.

9. HENRIETTA born at *Exceter June* the sixteenth 1644. conveyed not long after into *France* by the Lady *Dalkeith* to the Queen her Mother, where she still remains.

It is observed of the *Wolf*, that a soo

ſoon as he is once full he begins to *howl*, and ſuch a *howling* fit fell at this time on the *Presbyterians*. They had carried on this Tragedy to the very laſt Act from the firſt bringing in of the Scots to the beginning of the war, and from the beginning of the war till they had brought him priſoner into *Holmby-Houſe*, and then quarrelled with the *Independents* for taking the work out of their hands, and robbing them of the long-expected fruits of their Plots and Practiſes. They cried out againſt them in their Pulpits, and clamoured againſt them in their Pamphlets for this moſt execrable fact, of which themſelves were parcel-guilty at the leaſt, *Et ſi non re, at voto pariter Regicidæ, &c.*

On the other ſide, the *Independents*, who had waſht their hands in the blood of the King, ſeemed as deſirous as the *Presbyterians* to *waſh their hands of it*. By them it was alledged more calmly, that they had put *Charles Stuart* to death, againſt whom they had proceeded as the ſole

ſole cauſe of ſo much bloodſhed; but that the King had been murthered a long time before by the *Presbyterians*, when they deprived him of his Crown, his Sword and his Scepter; of his Crown, by forcing from him thoſe Prerogatives which placed him in a Throne of Eminence above his People; of his Sword, by wreſting the Militia out of his hands, by which he was made unable to protect them; and finally, of his Scepter, in diveſting him of the power of calling Parliaments, and of his *Negative voice* in making thoſe Laws by which he was to govern all eſtates of men under his Dominion. And more then ſo, that they had deprived him of his naturall Liberty, as he was a Man, of the ſociety of his Wife, as he was a Husband, of converſation with his Children, as he was a Father, of the attendance of his Servants, as he was a Maſter, and in a word, of all thoſe comforts which might make life valued for a Bleſſing. So that there was nothing left for the *Independents* to do, but to put an end to thoſe Cala-

Calamities, into which this miſerable man, this *vir dolorum* (as he might very well be called) had been ſo accurſedly plunged by the *Presbyterians*.

Thus did each party ſeek to ſhift the guilt of this moſt execrable Act upon one another, and thus fell *CHARLES* the meekeſt of Men and the beſt of Princes, leaving behind him an example of Chriſtian fortitude, in ſuffering patiently that blow, which neither the Law of God or man, nor any deſervings of his own could inflict upon him.

His body being removed to *Windſor* was there interred in the ſame Vault with K. *Henry* the 8. but not interred with that ſolemnity nor in that publick form and manner which is appointed in the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, of which he had been alwayes a devout Obſerver, and to the laſt a reſolute Patron and Defender. His Funerall ſolemnized and his Death lamented with fewer tears than can be eaſily imagined; men

men bleeding inwardly from their hearts, when their eyes durſt not expreſſe outwardly what grief they felt. So dangerous were the times, *Ut ſuſpiria etiam ſubſcriberentur* (as *Tacitus* affirmeth of the times of *Domitian* a moſt cruell Tyrant) that mens very ſighs were regiſtred and kept upon account toward the undoing of many in the time to come.

But though he died thus in the ſtrength of his years, he ſtill lives in the memories of all good men, and by that moſt excellent Portraiture which he hath made of himſelf, will be preſerved alive amongſt all Nations, and unto all ſucceeding Ages. *The Pourtraiture of King* Charles *in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, will be a Character of his Parts and Piety beyond all expreſſions but his own; a Monument of richer metall than all the Tombs of Braſſe or Marble erected to the honour of his Predeceſſors; which no Inſcription whatſoever, though in Letters of Gold, and engraven with a pen of Diamonds,

monds, can be able to parallel.

And ſo I ſhut up this ſhort View of the Life and Reign of this glorious King, as *Tacitus* doth the Life of *Julius Agricola*, a right noble Roman (the names of the perſons onely changed) *viz. Quiquid ex* Carolo *amavimus, quicquid mirati ſumus, manet manſurumque eſt in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, fama rerum.*

Horat. Carm. lib. 1. Ode 24.
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam mihi ——

THE END.

D
H 1735

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